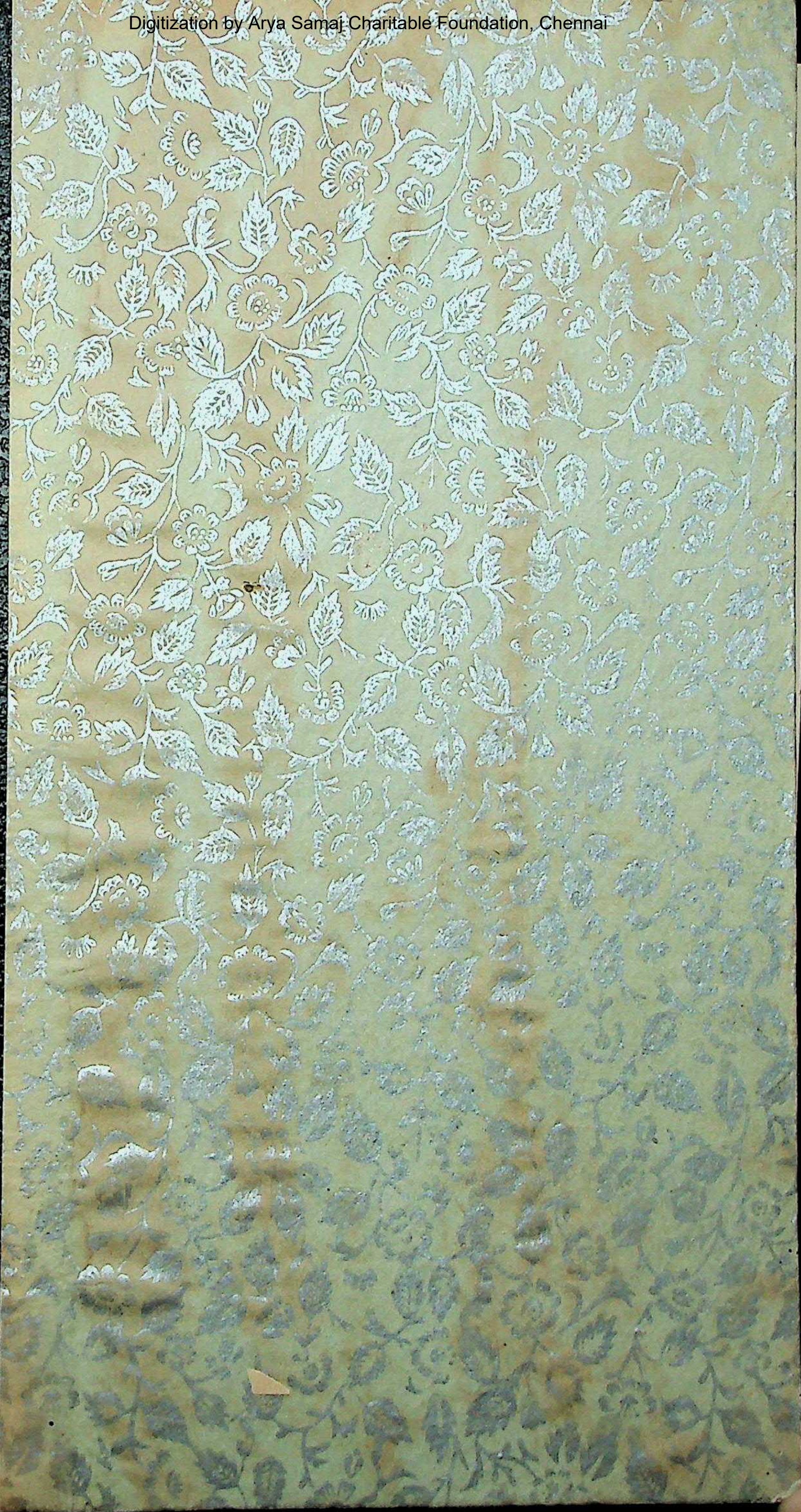

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CHAPTER II.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE LEARNED MEN, MOST OF WHOM THE AUTHOR HAS MET, OR FROM WHOM HE HAS RECEIVED INSTRUCTION.

Besides those learned men whom the author has met, the large number of those whom he has not seen, but who are well known in all parts of the land, exceeds the bounds of computation and the limits of enumeration. Of those whom the author has known one is that master of masters, Shaikh Ḥātim of Sambhal.

I. SHAIKH ḤĀTIM OF SAMBHAL.[1]

He was the pupil of Miyāṅ 'Azīzu-'llāh of Ṭalamba.[2] Taking him in all he had no equal in this generation as a sage versed both in those branches of knowledge which demand the exercise of the reasoning faculty, and in those which demand the exercise of the memory, but especially in scholastic theology, (Quranic) exegesis, practical theology, and Arabic literature. It used to be said that he had, in the course of teaching, gone through the commentary 67
on the *Miftāḥ*[3] and the *Muṭawwal*,[4] from the *bā* of *Bismi-'llāh* to the *tā* of "*tammata*," nearly forty times, and that he had gone through all other advanced works (on theology) as often. He used to tell Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk that he had no rival in disputation. When *Mullā* 'Alā'u-'d-dīn Lārī took to the *Miyāṅ*, with the greatest assurance, his notes on the commentary on the '*Aqā'id-i-Nasafī*,[5] the *Miyāṅ*, after perusing them, discussed the matter with such minuteness of detail that *Mullā* 'Alā'u-'d-dīn was unable to answer him.

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[1] *Vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 428.

[2] *Vide* page 3, note 4.

[3] The *Miftāḥu-l-'utūm*, a work on grammar and rhetoric. The commentary on it was written by Maulā Ḥisāmu-d-dīn al Muwazzinī. *Vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 428, note 2.

[4] A commentary on the book called *Talkhīṣu-l-Miftāḥ*, *vide* vol. i, trans Ranking, p. 428, note 4.

[5] *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 56.

In scholastic theology the greatest of the Imāms[1] (on him be the mercy of God!) was inferior to the *Miyāṅ*. The *Miyāṅ* was an ascetic and strove much in the way of holiness, and was pious and devout, although he sat in the seat of honour and dignity, exercising absolute authority.

When I, in the time of Bairam Khān,[2] the Khān-Khānān, re-entered the service of the *Miyāṅ* in Āgra, after an interval of five years, I delivered to him a request for a decision on a point of theology from Shaikh Mubārak[3] of Nāgōr, from whom I was at that time receiving instruction. After inquiring of me how I had done during the time of my separation from him, the *Miyāṅ* said, "What sort of a religious teacher is Shaikh Mubārak?" I told him what I knew of the *Shaikh's* conduct as a *Mullā*, of his piety, his poverty, his striving in the path of holiness, and his commands and prohibitions in religious matters which in those days he took upon himself to issue, declaring them to be binding. He replied, "Yes, indeed. I also have heard him well spoken of, but they say that he holds the *Mahdawī* doctrines. Is this true?" I said, "He believes Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr[4] (may his tomb be sanctified!) to have been a great saint, but does not believe him to have been the *Mahdī*." He replied, "What doubt can there be regarding the perfections of the Mīr?" Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad, *Mīr-i-'Adl*,[5] now deceased and pardoned, who was a pupil of the *Miyāṅ*, was also present; and he said, "Why do they call Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr the *Mahdī*?" I told him that it was on account of his assumption of the authority to issue authoritative orders and prohibitions in religious matters. Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad again questioned me, saying, "Mīr 'Abdu-'l-Ḥayy of Khurāsān,[6] who held the title of *Ṣadr* for some time, one day spoke ill of the *Shaikh* to the *Khān-*

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[1] *Scil.* the Imām Abū Ḥanīfah, founder of the Ḥanafī school of jurisprudence.

[2] *Vide* page 8, note 4.

[3] The father of Shaikh Abū-l-Faiẓ Faiẓī and Shaikh Abū-l-Faẓl. *Vide infra*, No. III.

[4] *Vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, page 420, note 8, and *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i (biog.), p. v.

[5] *Vide infra*, No. IV.

[6] Vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 468, 471, 480. In the *Ṭabaqāt* he is called *Khāja*

i-Khānān. Do you know the reason of this?" I said, "The 68 *Shaikh* wrote him a note, giving him advice on various religious matters, and among other things advised him to attend prayers with the *Sunnī* congregation in the *Masjid-i-Ḥayy.*[1] This offended 'Abdu-'l-Ḥayy, and he attributed this advice to the *Shaikh* being a *Mahdawī*, and supposed that he was reproaching him with heresy." Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad said, "This deduction of the Mīr with regard to his own heresy depends upon this syllogism, 'You do not join in the congregational prayers: everybody who does not join in the congregational prayers is a schismatic: therefore you are a schismatic.' But the major proposition is inadmissible. And likewise the syllogism, 'The Shaikh assumes the power of issuing authoritative commands; anybody who issues authoritative commands is the *Mahdī*, etc., is unsound.'" The *Miyāṅ* then said, "I will seal this application for a decision,[2] but I will retain it in the same manner[3] as I have retained another application for a decision which was sent to me under the seal of some of the elders of this place, and in respect of which I have some doubts. Now do you take this to Shaikh Bahā'u-'d-dīn,

'Abdu-l-Ḥayy, and is said to have been an *Amīr*. He was for some time *Mīr-i-'Adl*, or chief justice of the empire. He was a jovial judge, and on one occasion with Mīrān Ṣadr-i-Jahān, the chief ecclesiastical authority of the empire, exceeded the bounds of temperance at a drinking party. Akbar was much amused by the sight of his high dignitaries in their cups, and quoted the verse of Ḥāfiẓ,

در دور پادشاه خطا بخش جرم پوش * حافظ قرابه کش شد و مفتي پياله‌نوش

'In the reign of the King who pardons faults and cloaks sins, the reciter of the *Qur'ān* has become a tosspot, and the judge a tippler.'

[1] 'The Mosque of the Living God.'

[2] استفتا (*istiftā*), an application for an authoritative decision on a point of doctrine or ecclesiastical law, made to a *muftī*, or ecclesiastical judge having power to issue such decisions. The decision itself is a *fatwā*.

[3] A word بکروي occurs here in the text, which has puzzled the editor. He says in a note that in some MSS. it is written بکردي, and it is thus written in MS. (B). I think that there is very little doubt that the expression is بهگروي 'as it were in pledge.' The omission of the second stroke of the *gāf*, though common enough in MSS. and almost universal in Persia at the present day, sometimes does puzzle Indian *Maulavis*.

who is an accepted *muftī*, and say to him that my excuse of lack of books of reference, owing to my being on a journey, is perfectly comprehensible, but that, as to the tradition on which he has authenticated that (other) *fatwā*, it will be well if he sends me his original authenticated *fatwā*"; and say to him further, "The long and the short of the matter is that you have delivered a *fatwā* authorizing men to sell their children, when impelled thereto by hunger. In the first place this tradition is solely an *Ibrāhīm Shāhī* tradition,[1] and is not in accordance with any other standard theological works, and it is well known that the *Ibrāhīm Shāhī* traditions are not accepted by the learned as of sufficient authority to support a *fatwā*, and if you maintain that a *muftī* is competent to give the preference to a superseded[2] tradition, I reply without hesitation that the expression used in the
69 *Ibrāhīm Shāhī* tradition is that it is lawful for fathers (ابوين),[3] in time of distress, to sell their offspring, and it is well known that the word ابوين includes both father and grandfather, as we find in the book on marriage:—"Any person whose fathers (ابوين) were Muslims is equal to him whose ancestors attained to the honour of (accepting) *Islām*," and it is agreed that the word ابوين here means "father and grandfather," not "father and mother." On the assumption that this much is granted why should it not be (ruled) that the authority to sell children vests in both grandfather and father, acting jointly; and what proof is there that such authority should be assigned to the single individual? He then retained Shaikh Mubārak's application for a decision, and gave the former application to me. When I brought it to Shaikh Mubārak he was loud in his praises of

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[1] These words clearly refer to some collection of *fatwās* compiled in the reign of a king of the name of Ibrāhīm Shāh, but I have been unable to trace the collection or to ascertain who the Ibrāhīm Shāh was in whose reign it was compiled.

[2] مرجوعة (*marjū'ah*). This is another word which has puzzled the editor of the text. مرجوع (*marjū'*), of which this word is the feminine form, signifies 'referred,' 'brought back,' or 'sent back,' and may be used of a judgment or decision which is sent back for revision.

[3] This word is an Arabic dual, and signifies, literally, 'the two fathers.'

Miyāṅ Ḥātim's knowledge of theology and said, "Tell him, after conveying my salutations, that I did not affix my seal to the application for a decision as I expected that this occasion would arise." When I showed the document to Shaikh Bahā'u-'d-dīn he said, "As other *muftīs* had confirmed the decision I trusted to what they said, and did not go deeply into the question, and there certainly was negligence on my part." The readiness of Shaikh Bahā'u-'d-dīn, the *muftī*, who was a man of high position and great virtue, to acknowledge his fault, was evidence of his perception and love of truth, and of his rectitude and justice :—

> "At the head of that letter which Āṣaf wrote
> He wrote, 'God had mercy on the most just.'"

Miyāṅ Ḥātim, after enjoying the blessing of the opportunity of teaching and imparting instruction for a period of seventy years, passed away from this transitory world in the year H. 968 (A.D. 1560-61). The chronogram of his death has been already given; the words, "With the King he is powerful,"[1] were found to give the date of his death. He left his son, Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Ḥātim by name, as his successor as a religious leader and *Shaikh*, but 70
not as *Mullā*. He too rejoined his venerable father in the year H. 989 (A.D. 1581) and left some degenerate sons as his heirs.

> "How long shall I cherish by blandishments the complaisance
> of stony-hearted mistresses (idols)?
> "These degenerate sons do not call to mind their father."

II. MAULĀNĀ 'ABDU-'LLĀH OF SULṬĀNPŪR.[2]

He was of the *Anṣār*[3] tribe. His ancestors came to Sulṭānpūr and settled there. He was one of the greatest sages of his time,

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[1] عِنْدَ مَلِيكٍ مُقْتَدِرٍ. These words, which may also be translated, 'He is with the mighty King,' give the date 968. The chronogram has already been given on p. 47 of vol. ii (text).

[2] Maulānā 'Abdu-'llāh, Makhdūmū-l-Mulk, was the famous leader of the orthodox party in the reign of Akbar, and the persecutor of Shaikh Mubārak, father of Abū-l-Faẓl. *Vide* vol. ii, text, pp. 19, 44, 84, 151, 154, 198, 202, 203, 204, 209, 255, 263, 267, 270, 273, 277, 311. In his later years he advanced some heterodox opinions, but they were not of the kind that gained favour at court. *Vide* also vol. i, trans. Ranking, pp. 506, 513-519, 521, 523, 525, 534.

[3] Apparently an Afghān tribe.

and had not his equal in this age, especially in his knowledge of Arabic, Quranic exegesis, scholastic theology, history, and all those branches of learning which depend upon the exercise of the memory. He has left wonderful compositions, worthy of himself, the best known among them being the books known as *'Iṣmat-i-Anbiyā*[1] and *Sharḥu Shamā'ili-'n-Nabī*[2] (may God bless and save him!). From the Emperor who now has his resting place in paradise (*scil.* Humāyūn) he received the title of *Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk*, and also that of *Shaikhu-'l-Islām*. He always strenuously exerted himself to enforce the holy law, and was a bigoted *Sunnī*. Owing to his exertions many heretics and schismatics went to the place prepared for them. He used, owing to his extreme bigotry, to aver of the third volume of the *Rawẓatu-'l-Aḥbāb*[3] that it was not the work of Mīr[4] Jamālu-'d-dīn[5] the traditionist. In the year[6] in which Gujarāt was conquered and while Maulānā 'Abdu-'llāh possessed great honour and dignity as agent of the exalted Court in Fatḥpūr, I, who had just then returned from my journey to the Panjāb, went in company with Shaikh Abū-'l-Faẓl, who had not yet entered the Imperial service, and Ḥāji Sulṭān of Thānesar to see Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk. We saw that he had before him the third volume (of the *Rawẓatu-'l-Aḥbāb*), and he said to us,
71 "See, what mischief those who are followed in this land have wrought in the faith," and thus saying he showed us that couplet which occurs in the encomium:—

> "This alone is sufficient to prove his resemblance to God,[7]
> That it has been doubted that he himself was God."

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[1] 'The protection (or continence) of the prophets.'

[2] 'An exposition of the qualities of the prophet,' *i.e.*, Muḥammad, hence the benedictory phrase which follows.

[3] A work by 'Aṭā'u-'llāh, known as Jamāl-i-Ḥusainī, on the history of Islām.

[4] The text has *Amīr*. I have followed the reading of both MSS.

[5] *Vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 449.

[6] A.D. 1572. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 142.

[7] حق نمائي MS. (A) has حق آشنائي which will not scan, and may be taken as the gloss of a pious *Sunnī*, scandalised by the attribution of the Godhead to 'Alī.

and said, "He has passed beyond mere schism here, and has placed the question of his misbelief in quite another category, avouching his belief in the doctrine of incarnations. I am firmly resolved to burn this book in the presence of a *Shī'ah*." I, notwithstanding that I was unknown to any present,[1] and had never met Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk before, made bold to say, "This couplet is a translation of those verses which are attributed to the *Imām Shāfi'ī*[2] (may God have mercy upon him!).

He looked towards me sharply and asked, "From what are you quoting?" I said, "From the commentary on Amīr's *dīvān*." He said, "The commentator, Qāẓī Mīr Ḥusain-i-Mīdī,[3] has also been accused of schism." I said, "This is wandering from the point." Shaikh Abū-'l-Faẓl and Ḥājī Sulṭān,[4] with their fingers on their lips, were every now and then signing to me to be silent. Again I said, "I have heard from some trustworthy men that the third volume is not the work Mīr Jamālu-'d-dīn, but is the work of his son Sayyid Mīrak Shāh, or some other person, and that it is for this reason that its style differs from the style of the first two volumes, being poetical, and not the style peculiar to traditionists." He answered me, saying, "My child, in the second volume also I have found passages which clearly prove the heresy and misbelief of the author, and I have written notes on them. One of these passages is the statement by the author that 'Alī, the leader of the faithful (may God be gratified with him!),[5] on the occasion when Ṭalḥah (may God be gratified with him!) was the first to swear allegiance to him, said, "My hand is withered and thine allegiance is worthless," that is to say, that 'Alī Murtaẓā, the leader of the faithful, actually took as a bad omen the fact that Ṭalḥah's arm was withered—that arm which

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[1] This translation is conjectural. The reading of the text and the MSS. is هرچند از خبا یاي مجهول آمده. I cannot ascertain the meaning of the word خبایا.

[2] The Imām Abū "Abdu-'llāh Muḥammad bin Idrīs Shāfi'ī, founder of one of the four principal *Sunnī* schools of jurisprudence.

[3] *Sic* in both MSS. the text has *Mībaẓī*.

[4] *Vide* No. XXXVII.

[5] The words "'Alī' and the benedictory phrase are omitted from the text, but are to be found in both MSS.

in the battle of Uḥud[1] was the shield of his holiness the prophet
72 (may God bless and save him and his family!), and was pierced with eleven wounds,—a presumption expressly forbidden by the holy law. God forbid that such should be the case! It is impossible that 'Alī should have followed such a custom, and it is impossible to believe that he did so." I said, "There is manifestly a distinction between foreboding and augury." Shaikh Abū-'l-Faẓl secretly pressed my hand and warned me to be silent. 'Abdu-'llāh said to him, "Tell me something about this person (*scil.* Badāonī); who is he?" He and Ḥājī Sulṭān then told him something of my affairs, and our meeting passed off quietly. After we had left him my friends said to me, "You have passed through a great danger, but (fortunately) he did not set himself to persecute you. Had he done so who could have saved you?" Maulānā 'Abdu-'llāh, when he first set eyes on Shaikh Abū-'l-Faẓl, in the early years of the Emperor's reign, said to his pupils, "What injury will this man not do to the faith?

"When I saw him in his childhood I showed him to those of
the faith,
"(Saying) 'He will work mischief among the souls of men,
to your guardianship I entrust him.'"

Maulānā 'Abdu-'llāh departed to eternity in Gujarāt in the year H. 990 (A.D. 1582), after his return from the pilgrimage to the glorious city of Makkah, and the chronogram in the following verses was found to give the date of his death:—

Makhdūm-i-Mulk departed and took with him,
As a sign on his forehead, (the words) "the mercy of
God."

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[1] Uḥud is a mountain about four miles to the north of Madīnah, where Muḥammad, at the head of 1,000 men, was defeated by the Quraish, who had marched against him to avenge their defeat at Badr. Of the Muslims seventy men were slain, among them Ḥamzah, the uncle of Muḥammad, and of the infidels twenty-two. Muḥammad was struck down by a shower of stones and wounded in the face with two arrows, on pulling out which his two front teeth dropped out. Vide *Qur'ān*, c. iii.

When I sought of my heart the date of his death,
It replied to me, "Reckon the second hemistich (of
these verses.)"[1]

He left behind him some degenerate sons who are unworthy of mention; and here I may remark that all the rising generation give cause of complaint to their progenitors, for indeed it seems that the climate of this age will cherish, nay will produce, none better than such fellows:—

I see no good in the world,
This seems to be the age of impotence.

This state of affairs reminds us of the story that a certain king who was a bigoted *Sunnī* led an army against Sabzawār, which is a hotbed of schism, its inhabitants being all fanatics. The chief men of the place came out and made their representa- 73
tions to the king, saying, "We are Musalmāns; what fault have we committed that you should have brought an army against us?" The king replied, "Your fault is your zeal for schism." They replied, "This is a false accusation that has been brought against us. "The king said, "Produce from your city in support of your allegation a man of the name of Abū Bakr,[2] and I will swerve from my intention of slaying you and of plundering your city." After much search and with much difficulty they produced before the king an unknown pauper, saying, "This man is called by the name which you desired." After observing the man's old garments and despicable condition, the king asked, "Had you nobody better than this to produce before me?" They said, "O king, ceremony apart, the climate

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[1] There is something wrong with this chronogram. The values of the letters of the words composing the second hemistich give either 1488 or 1093, according to the value, 5 or 400, given to the letter ة in the word رحمة. The words مصرع ثاني ('the second hemistich') give the date 961. There may, perhaps, be an enigma concealed in the verses, though none is indicated.

[2] The name of the first *Khalifah*. The *Shi'ahs* do not give to their sons the names of Abū-Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān, which were those of the first three *Khalifahs*, whom they execrate as usurpers.

of Sabzawār cherishes an Abū Bakr no better than this." And the *Maulavī-yi-ma'navī* [1] (may his tomb be hallowed) refers to this story in his *Maṣnavī* as follows:—

> " This unstable world is a Sabzawār to us,
> We, like Bū-Bakrs, live in it mean and despised."

III. SHAIKH MUBĀRAK OF NĀGŌR.[2]

He was one of the great sages of the age and was distinguished among the men of his time and his contemporaries for his piety, devotion, and trust in God. In early life he observed many austerities and strove much in the way of holiness, and was so zealous in enforcing the commands and prohibitions of the holy law that if anybody was present while he was giving religious instruction wearing a golden ring, or silk clothing, or red hose, or red or yellow garments, he at once made him remove them, and if anyone appeared with long breeches, descending below the heel, he immediately had them torn to the proper length. If, while walking through the streets, he heard the noise of any singing he would start violently. In his zeal for God he was so devoted to singing that he was scarcely for a moment of the day at ease without being employed in listening to the chanting of hymns, psalms, mystic melodies, and music.
74 In short he followed many and various rules of life. For some time during the reigns of the Afghān Emperors he used to keep

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[1] Maulānā Jalālu-d-dīn Rūmī, author of the *Maṣnavī-yi-ma'navī*.

[2] Shaikh Mubārak of Nāgōr was the father of Shaikh Faizī and Shaikh Abū-l-Fazl. At one time he held the Mahdavī doctrines and was persecuted by Makhdūmu-l-Mulk, but when Abū-l-Fazl attained a high position at court the orthodox were, in their turn, harassed and persecuted. Shaikh Mubārak was the composer and chief signatory of the instrument which declared the emperor to be the highest authority on religious and ecclesiastical as well as in secular matters, an instrument which utterly broke the power of the *'Ulamā*. Shaikh Mubārak afterwards joined Akbar's new religion, 'the divine faith.' *Vide* vol. ii, text, pp. 32, 198, 204, 270, 312, 348; also *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 490. Shaikh Mubārak often changed his religious opinions, having first become a Mahdawī, then a Naqshbandī, then a Hamadānī, and then a Shī'ah, before he joined the 'divine faith.'

company with Shaikh 'Alā'ī,[1] and in the beginning of the Emperor's reign, when the *Naqshbandī* order were in great esteem, he adapted himself to their rule, and for some time he was attached to the Hamadānī *Shaikhs*, and at last when the 'Irāqīs were in great favour at Court he spoke as one of their religion.[2] "Converse with men according to their understanding," was his practice, and so he continued to do. He was always employed in giving religious instruction, and was well-versed in poetry, enigmas, and in all other arts and branches of learning, but especially in the theology of the *Ṣūfīs*, and, unlike most other learned men of India, he practised their system thoroughly. He also had *Shāṭibī* by heart, and used to give instruction in the law of inheritance. He also had by heart the glorious *Qur'ān*, according to each of the ten methods of reading it.

He never went to the houses of nobles, but was a very pleasant companion, and had a great stock of wonderful anecdotes. Towards the end of his life, when his sight failed him and he was unable to read, he went into retirement and wrote a commentary similar to the *Tafsīr-i-Kabīr*,[3] contained in four large volumes, and named it the *Mamba'u-Nafā'isi-'l-'Uyūn*.[4] The strange thing is that in the exordium to that commentary he wrote certain passages which seem to contain pretensions to the establishment of new principles in religion, and the innovations contained therein are those which are well known. At the time when he was enabled, by God's grace, to complete that commentary he used constantly to recite, with a view to reminding himself of what he owed to God, the *Qaṣīda-yi-Fāriẓiyya* in *ta*,[5] which contains seven hundred couplets, the *Qaṣīda-yi-Burda*, by Ka'b bin Zuhair,[6] and other epodes which he had committed to memory,

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[1] Shaikh 'Ālā'ī of Biyāna, son of Shaikh Ḥasan of Bengal, for an account of whom *vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i (biog.), p. v; also Badāonī, vol. i, trans. Ranking, 507-524.

[2] *i.e.*, as one of the *Shī'ah* sect. [3] 'The great commentary' on the *Qur'ān*.

[4] 'The source of excellent fountains.'

[5] That is to say, a *qaṣīdah* of which the rhyming words end in the letter ت (*tā*).

[6] *Vide* page 4, note 1. The text runs قصیدۂ بردہ و قصیدۂ کعب بن زهیر

until, on the seventeenth of Ẕī-Qa'da, A.H. 1001 (Aug. 15, 1593), he passed away from this world in Lāhor. He was a *mullā* whose like, as regards the scope of his attainments, has never been seen, and the pity is that his love of the world with its pomps, concealed under the garment of holy poverty, left no room for the love of the faith of Islām. The author, in his youth, spent some
75 years in Āgra under his tuition, and owes him much, but can no longer feel himself fettered by his indebtedness to him, owing to his numerous acts of worldliness and impiety, his devotion to wealth and pomp, his time serving, his deceit and double-dealing, and his zeal for innovations in the faith. "Answer, God; and either we, or ye, follow the direction, or are in a manifest error."[1]

In short, the saying of the common people, that the son brings curses on his father, is exemplified in his case, just as it happened in the case of Yazīd,[2] in respect of whom some impudently and presumptuously say, "Curses be on Yazīd and on his father!"

IV. Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad, *Mīr-i-'Adl.*[3] of Amroha.

Amroha[4] is a *pargana* town in the *Sarkār* of Sambhal. Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad was exceedingly pious, devout, and abstemi-

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as though two separate *qaṣīdah* were indicated. MS. (A) reads قصيدۂ كعب بن زهير and MS. (B) reads قصيدۂ بردۂ كعب بن زهير. The editor has inserted both readings, which are alternative. For mention of this *qaṣīdah*, *vide* p. 4 and note 1.

[1] قُلْ اللّٰهُ وَ اِنَّا اَوْ اِيَّاكُمْ لَعَلَىٰ هُدًى اَوْ فِيْ ضَلَالٍ مُبِيْنٍ *Qu'rān* xxxiv, 24.

The answer is to the question, "Who provideth food for you from heaven and earth?"

[2] Yazīd, the son of Mu'āwiyah, the second *Khalīfah* of the house of Ummaiyah. He is celebrated in Muḥammadan history as the opponent of Ḥusain, the son of 'Alī, who was killed at Karbalā in A.H. 61 (A.D. 680-81).

[3] *i.e.*, Chief justice. For mention of Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad, who was one of the 'Ulamā, *vide* vol. ii, text, pp. 220, 222, 245.

[4] Now the headquarters of the *taḥṣīl* of the same name in the Murādābād

ous. He and the author's father were in their youth fellow-students under various teachers in the city of Sambhal, and also in Badāon under Mīr Sayyid Jalāl, a sage who had studied the traditional sayings of the prophet under Mīr Sayyid Rafī'u-'d-din. Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad, after completing his course of studies, employed himself in teaching, and towards the end of his life attained to a high position in the Imperial Court, receiving the appointment of *Mīr-i-'Adl.* In this high post he showed himself to be scrupulously just, straightforward and trustworthy, so that even the *Qāẓī'u-'l-Quẓẓāt*[1] of the time, out of respect to Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad's age, refrained from his customary double-dealing and base behaviour, and during the Mīr's tenure of his post no heretic or schismatic had an opportunity of damaging the faith of Islām.

After the death of Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad the title of *Mīr-i-'Adl* was applied to and assumed by many persons.

The *Mīr*, owing to his hereditary connection with me and the long-standing affection which he had for me, advised me, when I first appeared at court, to have nothing to do with any *madad-i-ma'āsh*, and to refrain from subjecting myself to the base actions of the *Ṣadrs*, recommending me to enter the Imperial service in any post I could obtain, for that the *Ṣadrs* were tyrannical egotists. Owing to my disregard of his advice I naturally experienced what I have experienced, and suffered what I have suffered. The *Mīr* was appointed to the government of Bakkar[2] in the year H. 984 (A.D. 1576-77), and in that city departed this life in the year H. 986 (A.D. 1578-79).[3] 76

District of the United Provinces. *Vide Imperial Gazetteer* (new series), v, 330, and *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, ii, 289.

[1] Badāonī apparently uses this title as equivalent to that of *Ṣadr-i-Jahān* who was chief of the *qāẓīs*. If this be so, the person referred to is probably Shaikh 'Abdu-'n-Nabī. *Vide infra*, No. X, or perhaps Qāẓī Ya'qūb, No. IX.

[2] He was sent to Bakkar on the dispersal of the 'Ulamā from court.

[3] According to the *Tārīkh-i-Ma'ṣūmī* Mīr Sayyid Muhammad arrived at Bakkar on Ramaẓān 11, A.H. 983 (Dec. 14th, 1575) and died there Sha'bān 8, A H. 984 (Oct. 31st, 1576).

V. SHAIKH GADĀ'Ī OF DIHLĪ, THE KAMBŪ.[1]

He was the son and successor of Shaikh Jamālī, the famous poet. He perfected himself in exoteric learning and enjoyed the society of the learned men of the age, being much benefited by their companionship. By means of the claim which intimate friendship gave him on Bairam Khān he obtained the appointment of *Ṣadru-'s-Ṣudūr*[2] in India, and was for several years resorted to, as an authority on religious questions, by the sages and principal men of Hindūstān, Khurāsān, Transoxiana, and 'Irāq. He was a born poet, and used to compose and sing hymns and religious songs after the Indian manner,[3] to which pursuits he was passionately addicted.

After he had dissociated himself from Bairam Khān, the Khān-i-Khānān, and returned from the neighbourhood of Bīkānīr to Dihlī,[4] he was honoured and esteemed at Court as before. When in Dihlī he always used to attend the shrines of the saints there (may God sanctify their souls!) on their anniversaries, and used to hold assemblies with great pomp and circumstance. He left this world for the next either in the year H. 976

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[1] Kambū (spelt Kambūh in vol. ii, *passim*) is the name of a tribe. According to a proverb the Afghāns are the first, the Kambūs the second, and the Kashmīrīs the third sets of scoundrels. Shaikh Gadā'ī was one of those who attempted to persuade Akbar to butcher Hemū in cold blood. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 16.

[2] Shaikh Gadā'ī was Akbar's first *Ṣadru-s-Ṣudūr* or *Ṣadr-i-Jahān*, a very important post. The dignity of the *Ṣadr*, especially before the advent of the Mughul dynasty, had been very great. 'It was he who legalized the accession of a new king. During the reign of Akbar also he ranked as the fourth officer of the empire. His power was immense. He was the highest law officer and had the powers which Administrators-General have among us; he was in charge of all lands devoted to ecclesiastical and benevolent purposes and possessed an almost unlimited authority of conferring such lands independently of the king. He was also the highest ecclesiastical law officer, and might exercise the powers of a High Inquisitor.' Vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 270. Shaikh Gadā'ī was, like his patron, a *Shī'ah*. *Vide* vol. ii, text, *passim*.

[3] صورت هندي مي بست MS. (B) has, wrongly, صورت for صوت.

[4] In A.D. 1560. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 38.

(A.D. 1568-69) or in the year H. 979 (A.D. 1571-72),[1] leaving behind him sons no better than the sons of most men in this degenerate age, "as has been decreed for these days, and in accordance with the decree of God the all-wise."

The following verses are an extract from the poems of S͟haik͟h Gadā'ī :—

"At times my soul, at times my heart became the abode of grief, 77
"I ever grieve after thee, as I travel, stage by stage.
"Be not forgetful of my grief and pain,
"For there is no moment of my life which is not occupied with thoughts of thee.
"I have bound my frenzied heart in thy tresses,
"Myself am bound in those musky chains.
"If desires could be easily accomplished by the surrender of life
"No difficulties would remain to true lovers.
"Gadā'i, thou hast lost thy life in unsuccessful endeavour!
"I have not obtained my desire from the lips of my friend."

I have copied these verses from the memoir of Mīr 'Alā'u-'d-daulah, which is not to be trusted. I suspect that they are not Gadā'ī's. But God knows the truth!

VI. MIYĀṄ JAMĀL K͟HĀN, MUFTI OF DIHLĪ.[2]

He was the pupil of his own worthy father, S͟haik͟h Naṣīru-'d-din, and the brother of Miyāṅ Lādan. He was of the Kambū tribe. He was one of the most learned men of his time both in those branches of knowledge which depend on the reasoning faculty, and in those which depend on the memory, but especially in practical and scholastic theology, knowledge of Arabic, and expounding the *Qur'ān*, in which studies he was unequalled. He used to speak authoritatively on the commentaries on the *Miftāḥ*,[1] and it is said that he had, in the course of teaching, gone through the book *'Azdī*, one of the most advanced works, forty times. He used to impart religious instruction, and never went to the houses of kings or nobles, but always affected the company of magistrates who were honoured and respected. Most of his pupils have become wise men. He passed away to the next world in the year H. 984 (A.D. 1576-77) at the age of more than ninety years.

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[1] In the former year, according to vol. ii (text, p. 119) where the chronogram مردهٔ خوک کلان ('You are dead, you great hog'), giving the date 976, confirms the statement in the text.

[2] *Vide Āīn-iAkbarī*, i, 544. He is classed by Abū-'l-Faẓl as one of those who understand sciences resting on testimony only, *i.e.*, as a mere theologian.

78 VII. QĀẒĪ JALĀLU-'D-DĪN OF MULTĀN.[2]

He came originally from the neighbourhood of the fortress of Bakkar.[3] He was a profound sage, ever speaking the truth and loving it. In early life he was a merchant, and in middle age he employed himself in teaching. He taught in Āgra for some years, and then, in consequence of certain events which have been narrated in the detailed account of Akbar's reign, was employed in the high post of *Qāẓī*, after the dismissal of *Qāẓī* Ya'qūb. In respect of his integrity and trustworthiness he was the best of *Qāẓīs*, but, owing to the misfortune of his having a corrupt son, a handsome blockhead, and in consequence of the machinations of all the base pimps about the Court, his own lack of worldly wisdom, and his inability to appreciate the spirit of the age and the ideas of his contemporaries, he was banished to the Dakan,[1] the rulers of which land, having heard of his staunchness to Islām and his preaching of the word of God, honoured him to the utmost extent of their power. From the Dakan he was privileged to perform the pilgrimage to the holy house of God, and there replied, "Here am I," to the summons of God.

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[1] *Vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 428, note 2.

[2] Qāẓī Jalālu-d-dīn is classed by Abū-l-Faẓl in the same category as Jamāl Khān, *vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 546. He was appointed *Qāẓī'u-l-Quẓẓāt* on the degradation of Shaikh Ya'qūb for refusing to pronounce *mut'ah* marriages to be legal. He was one of the signatories of the deed which recognised Akbar as the chief ecclesiastical authority in the empire. *Vide* vol. ii, text, pp. 209, 270.

[3] Bhakkar, formerly headquarters of the Bhakkar *Sarkār* of the *Ṣūba* of Multān, *vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, ii, 333. Now headquarters of the *taḥṣīl* of the same name in the Miyānwālī District, Panjāb; *vide* Imperial Gazetteer of India (new series), viii, 44.

VIII. Qāẓī Ṭawā'isī.

Ṭawā'is[2] is a dependency of Khurāsān. He was a most trustworthy man, but, as he was devoid of learning, some of his decisions were wrong. He had suffered much at the hands of the wealthy men of his time,[3] and was therefore always much prejudiced against them, and would, as far as possible, show favour to the poorer party, even though he were in the wrong. He did not understand that in these days it is generally the wrong-doer that cries for justice, in which connection Shaikh 79 Abū-'l-Faẓl has said, "If the greatest of the *Imāms*[4] had lived in our time he would have written on practical theology otherwise than as he did."

When the Khān-i-Zamān broke out into rebellion he gave a decision to the effect that the seizure of the effects of a rebel was unlawful,[5] and this decision led to his deposition and the appointment of Qāẓī Ya'qūb in his place. Very shortly after his deposition he passed away from this world.

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[1] Badāonī here makes it appear that Jalālu-d-dīn's banishment was the result of underhand machinations, but as a matter of fact he was banished for forging a draft on the treasury for 500,000 *tankas*. He was banished to the Dakan in the hope that the Muhammadan kings in Southern India, being bigoted *Shī'ahs*, would have him put to death as a bigoted *Sunnī*. *Vide* vol. ii, text, 313.

[2] Probably the same as Ṭāwawīs, 'a dependency of Bukhārā, seven parasangs from Bukhārā,' *vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, iii, 97.

[3] اغنیای زمان MS. (A) has اغنیا بوزبان and MS. (B) اغیار زمان . Both of those readings are wrong.

[4] Abū Ḥanīfah, one of the four great *Sunni* doctors of the law, and founder of the *Ḥanafī* school of jurisprudence.

[5] *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 100. Qāẓī Ṭawā'isī, whom I find nowhere described by name, was at the time Akbar's camp *Qāẓī*. The Lakhnau edition of the *Ṭabaqāt* calls him 'Qāẓī Ṭawā'ish.'

IX. QĀẒĪ YA'QŪB OF MĀNIKPŪR.[1]

He was related to Qāẓī Faẓīlat,[2] and was well skilled in practical theology and in the principles of that science. He was of a cheerful and open disposition, and used to compose Arabic verses in Indian metres. They say that while he was, for several years, the *Qāẓī'u-l-Quẓẓāt* of India, he used to take aphrodisiac electuaries in large quantities. One day when he was present at a party given by the Emperor, several intoxicating and stimulating drugs were handed round, and were offered to the *Qāẓī* among others. He refused them, and when he was asked what sort of drugs he took, one of the Emperor's Hindū favourites immediately replied, "The *Qāẓī* takes mercury."[3]

After his dismissal from the post of *Qāẓī'u-'l-Quẓẓāt* he was appointed to be *Qāẓī* of Bangāl, and was sent off to that province,[4] and while there used to use aphrodisiacs to excess, a slave to the violence of his lusts. He was a confederate of Ma'ṣūm-i-Kābuli in his rebellion[5] and was in consequence recalled from that province and sentenced to be imprisoned in the fortress of Gwāliyār, and on his way to that place removed the baggage of his existence from this world, and joined Mīr Mu'izzu-'l-Mulk and Mullā Muḥammad of Yazd.[1]

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[1] Mānikpūr was the headquarters of a *sarkār* in the *ṣūba* of Ilāhābād, *vide* *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, ii, 164.

[2] Qāẓī Ya'qūb was son-in-law to Qāẓī Faẓīlat, *Qāẓī* of the army under Shīr Shāh, 'who was popularly known by the more appropriate title of Qāẓī Faẓīhat.' *Vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 474 and note 4, and vol. ii, text, p. 101.

[3] پارہ or پارا, a Hindī word. Mercury was apparently used as an aphrodisiac.

[4] According to vol. ii, text, p. 101, Ya'qūb superseded Ṭawā'isī as chief *qāẓī* in A.H. 974 (A.D. 1567) and was degraded ten years later, so that he must have gone to Bengal in A H. 984 (A.D. 1576-77).

[5] *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 276. The rebellion was first preached at Jaunpūr by Mullā Muḥammad of Yazd, who gave a *fatwā* or formal decision to the effect that rebellion against Akbar, as an enemy to Islām, was lawful. It broke out in A.D. 1579, the ringleaders being Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm of Kābul, Muḥammad Ma'sūm Khān Farankhūdī, Mīr Mu'izzu-l-Mulk, Niyābat Khān, 'Arab Bahādur, and others. Mu'izzu-l-Mulk and Mullā Muḥammad Yazdī were called to the capital, and on their way thither were put to death by being drowned in the Jamna.

X. SHAIKH 'ABDU-'N-NABĪ,[2] THE ṢADRU-Ṣ-ṢUDŪR.[3]

He was the son of Shaikh Aḥmad, the son of Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Quddūs of Kango. He journeyed several times to the glorious city of Makkah and the delectable city of Madīnah, and there studied the traditional sayings of Muḥammad, and after his return he abandoned the mode of life of his forefathers, and, **80** objecting to the ecstatics and vocal music (of the *Ṣūfīs*) followed the rule of the traditionists, and busied himself in ceremonial and outward piety, cleanliness, purification and devotion. When he was appointed *Ṣadru-'s-Ṣudūr* he distributed enormous areas of land to the people as *madad-i-ma'āsh*, pensions, and religious endowments, and never was there in the reign of any monarch a *Ṣadru-'s-Ṣudūr* so powerful as Shaikh 'Abdu-'n-Nabī, or one who alienated the tenth part of what he did in religious endowments.[4] For some time the Emperor had so great faith in him as a religious leader that he would bring him his shoes and place them before his feet. At last, owing to the disagreements[5] of Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk and all the other ill-dispositioned *'Ulamā* the Emperor's opinion of him changed completely.

Couplet.

All those who seek for pride of place are fools,
Aye, those who style themselves the *'Ulamā*.

The chief cause of his fall was as follows:—When the Emperor, after his journey to Bāṅswāla,[6] halted at Fatḥpūr,

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[1] It would appear from this passage that Ya'qūb died a natural death on his way to Gwāliyār, but from vol. ii, text, p. 277, it is evident that he was executed by drowning, as were Mu'izzu-l-Mulk and Mullā Muḥammad of Yazd. This event happened in A.D. 1579.

[2] *Vide* vol. ii, text, *passim*, and *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i. 490, 546.

[3] For a definition of the powers and duties of the *Ṣadru.-ṣ-ṣudūr* or *Ṣadr.-i-jahān*, *vide supra* p. 122, note 2.

[4] *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 71.

[5] *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 255.

[6] In A.D. 1577, *vide* vol. ii, text, 242, Akbar returned to Fatḥpūr on

Qāẓi 'Abdu-'r-Rahīm, the *Qāẓī* of Mathura, laid a complaint before the *Shaikh*, to the effect that a wealthy and stiff-necked Brahman of that place had carried off the materials which he, the *Qāẓī*, had collected for the construction of a *masjid*, and had built of them an idol-temple, and that, when the *Qāẓī* had attempted to prevent him, he had, in the presence of witnesses, opened his foul mouth to curse the prophet (on whom be peace), and had shown his contempt for Muslims in various other ways. When the Brahman was called upon to appear, he disobeyed the *Shaīkh's* summons. The Emperor sent Bīr Bar and Shaikh Abū-'l-Faẓl to fetch him, and they brought him, and Shaikh Abū-'l-Faẓl represented to the Emperor what he had heard of the case from the people, and stated that it was certainly proved that he had uttered abuse of the prophet. Some of the '*Ulamā* were of opinion that he should suffer death, while others were in favour of his being publicly paraded on the back of an ass and heavily fined. The '*Ulamā* were thus divided into two parties and the question was argued at length. The *Shaikh* required the **81** Emperor's sanction to the execution of the Brahman, but, notwithstanding his importunity, no open sanction was given, and the Emperor said in private, "Punishments for offences against the holy law are in the hands of you, the '*Ulamā*; what do you require of me?" The Brahman remained for some time in custody on the charge, and the ladies of the Imperial *ḥaram* busied themselves in interceding for his release, but the *Shaikh's* known opinions stood in the way. At last, when the *Shaikh's* importunity exceeded all bounds, the Emperor said, "You have received your answer, it is that which I have already given you." No sooner had the *Shaikh* reached his lodging than he issued orders for the execution of the Brahman. When this

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May 12th of that year, *ibid.* 248. Although the slaying of the Brāhman is here mentioned as the chief cause of 'Abdu-n-Nabī's fall, Akbar had for some time been displeased with him. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 208, where the incident of the discussion on the marriage-law of Islām is related. Akbar then accused the Shaikh of having at one time interpreted that law very liberally, and of having subsequently retracted this interpretation to his (Akbar's) detriment. It would appear that Akbar never forgot this.

matter was reported to the Emperor he was exceedingly wroth. The ladies of his *ḥaram* complained in private and the Hindū courtiers in public, saying, "You have pampered these *Mullās* till their insolence has reached such a pitch that they pay no heed to your wishes, and, merely to display their own power and authority, put men to death without your orders." They plied his Majesty with arguments to such an extent that he could endure it no longer, and the leaven of designs which had long been working in his mind at length fermented and overflowed. One night, at the tank known as *Anūp Talā'ō*,[1] he set forth the whole case, and asked certain time-serving *muftīs* and stirrers up of strife for a decision on the question. One of them said, "The witnesses who have been produced prove that he has committed an offence against the person under cover of the law." Another said, "The strange thing is that Shaikh 'Abdu-'n-Nabī should claim to be a descendant of the greatest of the *Imāms*[2] (may God have mercy upon him!) according to whose school of theology the cursing of the prophet by unbelievers who have submitted to the rule of Islām gives no ground for any breach of agreement by Muslims, and in no way absolves Muslims from their obligation to safeguard infidel subjects. This question has been discursively treated in theological works, and it is hard to understand how the *Shaikh* can have so opposed himself to the principles of his ancestor." All at once the Emperor's glance fell on the author of these historical selections, standing afar off, and, turning to me he summoned me to him, saying, "Come forward." I advanced, and he put to me a question, saying, "Have you heard **82**
that, supposing there are ninety-nine traditions awarding the punishment of death for a certain offence, and one tradition in accordance with which the accused person may be set at liberty, *muftīs* should give the preference to that one tradition?" I said, "Yes, it is just as your Majesty has said; but this question turns on the maxim "Verily legal punishments and inflictions are set aside by doubts"; and I translated the maxim into Persian. The

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[1] *i.e.*, the '*Ibādat-Khāna* or 'hall of worship.' *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 201.

[2] Abū Ḥanīfah.

Emperor said, with evident sorrow, "Perhaps Shaikh 'Abdu-'n-Nabī was not aware of this ruling, that he put the unfortunate Brāhman to death. Yet how could it be so?" I replied, "The *Shaikh* is, beyond all doubt, a learned man, but he must have had some wise purpose in view, in knowingly giving an order contrary to this tradition." The Emperor said, "What purpose can he have had in view?" I said, "The closing of sedition and the uprooting of the germs of insolence from the minds of the common people." I also brought to his Majesty's notice the tradition of *Qāẓī* 'Ayyāẓ on the remedies of evils, which tradition had been laid before him in connection with this case. Certain lewd fellows of the baser sort said, "*Qāẓī* 'Ayyāẓ was a *Mālikī*,[1] and his decisions have no weight in a land of the *Ḥanafīs*." The Emperor said to me, "What do you say to this?" I said, "Although he was a *Mālikī*, it is yet permissible, by the sacred law, for a recognized *muftī* to pass sentence in accordance with his decisions." The question was argued at length, and the bystanders observed that the Emperor's moustache, during the discussion, bristled like the whiskers of a tiger, and those who were standing behind him signed to me to desist from argument. All at once the Emperor, opposing my decision, said, "What you say is nonsense!" I immediately made my submission, and retired and took my place in the circle of courtiers, and have ever since eschewed forwardness and the company of disputants, preferring retirement, and saluting the Emperor from afar.

From this time forth the fortunes of Shaikh 'Abdu-'n-Nabī began to decline. He withdrew himself from company and avoided it, concerning himself principally with his own claims to superiority and the repudiation of former decisions in legal matters, whether modern or ancient. He never went to Court.
83 About this time Shaikh Mubārak came from Āgra to Fatḥpūr to offer his felicitations to the Emperor on some subject or another, and the Emperor told him what had happened and asked him for his opinion. He gave his opinion authoritatively, saying,

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[1] *i.e.*, a follower of the school of jurisprudence founded by Mālik bin Anas, one of the four great *Sunnī* doctors of the law. The Ḥanafīs are the followers of the school founded by Abū Ḥanīfah.

' Your Majesty is the *Imām* and *Mujtahid* of the age. What need have you of these *'Ulamā* for assistance in issuing your commands, whether religious or secular. They have no lot or part in true knowledge, beyond a groundless reputation therefor." The Emperor said, " Since you are my teacher and I am ready to learn from you why do you not free me from dependence on these *Mullās*? " S͟haik͟h Mubārak made a supreme effort to gain his end, and, aflame with rancour and contumacy, said, " Do you make a claim to religious supremacy, and demand from them an attestation of your claim." He ultimately wrote a decree affirming the religious supremacy of the Emperor and his superiority to all ecclesiastical dignitaries.[1] S͟haik͟h 'Abdu-'u-Nabī and Mak͟hdūmu-'l-Mulk were forcibly seized and compelled, as though they had been mere nobodies, to attend that assembly of base fellows. No one saluted them, and they took their seats in the *Ṣaff-i-ni'āl*,[2] and they were forced, much against their will, to attest that decree, whether they would or no,[3] as has been mentioned in the detailed history of the Emperor's reign; and at last they both received permission to make the pilgrimage to Makkah.

S͟haik͟h 'Abdu-'u-Nabī died in the year H. 991 (A.D. 1583).[4]

IX. S͟HAIK͟H AḤMADĪ FAYYĀẒ, OF AMBEṬHI.[5]

He was among the first of the greatest sages of the time. He was devout, following a severe rule and striving much in the

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[1] *Vide* vol. ii, text, 270.

[2] ' The row of shoes,' *i.e.*, at the place where the courtier's left their shoes when entering the emperor's presence.

[3] The nature of the compulsion used is not mentioned. Badāonī, in vol. ii, text, p. 270, says that some signed willingly and others unwillingly.

[4] In vol. ii, text, p. 312, the date of the S͟haik͟h's death is given as 992 (A.D. 1584), and the chronogram there given (شیخ کنبی) gives the same date. He returned to Fatḥpūr from Makkah apparently in A.H. 990 (A.D. 1582). ' On his using some harsh language the emperor struck him a heavy blow in the face with his fist. The S͟haik͟h said, " Why dost thou not strike me with a knife ? " ' 'Abdu-u-Nabī was then called to account for the sum of Rs. 70,000 which had been advanced for his journey to Makkah, and was thrown into prison, where he was strangled one night by a gang of men.

[5] *Vide* p. 27, note 3.

path of holiness. In the feebleness of old age, when he had no longer the power to walk, and was completely bedridden, he learnt the glorious *Qur'ān* by heart. He had by heart the contents of most of the books generally read, and if one of his pupils made a mistake in reading he would correct him without referring to the text. He was well skilled in expounding the *Qur'ān*, in the traditional sayings and biography of Muḥammad, and in history. He was a fellow-citizen and contemporary of Shaikh
84 Niẕāmu-'d-dīn [1] of Ambēṭhī, and he used to say of him that he was strongly opposed to the recital by the congregation of the *fātiḥah* after the *imām* (during public prayers in the *masjid*).

The author had the honour of paying his respects to the *Shaikh* while he was employed in giving instruction in the *Sharḥ-i-Viqāya*. One of the *Shaikh's* pupils happened to be reading the following verses of Hazal:—

"Abū-Bakr, the son of the chosen one,
Resolved on a foray in connection with a strange matter,
And he said, 'Verily I have resolved on a foray
Against Kaftārah, who is my father's mother.'
And I said, 'Wilt thou not hearken, O my son,
To the prohibition against associating with the base?'

and a discussion arose whether the reading should be كَفْتَارَةٍ or كَفَّارَةٍ [2] which latter is the feminine intensive form of the word كَافِرٍ, "an unbeliever." He said that the true reading was كَفَّارَةٍ and that no other reading would make sense, for that كَفْتَارَةً was a Persian word. My contention was that the meaning of كفارة was more obvious than that of كفتارة,—but God knows the truth!

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[1] *Vide* p. 27.

[2] كفارة means 'an ungrateful woman' or 'an intensely unbelieving woman.' كفتارة appears to be an Arabicized feminine form of the Persian word كفتار, 'a hyaena,' and, as applied to a woman, might be translated 'ghoul' or 'vampire.' The discussion between Badāonī and Shaikh Aḥmadī is of no practical interest.

XII. QĀẒĪ ṢADRU-'D-DĪN,[1] SOME TIME OF JALANDAR, AFTERWARDS OF LĀHOR.

He was a profound sage, and was regarded as a leader in religious matters both by *Ṣūfīs* and by orthodox Muslims.[2] He was a cheerful and pleasant companion. Although he was for a time, as is well known, the pupil of Shaikh 'Abdu-'llāh Makhdū-mu-'l-Mulk, I certainly found him to be far superior to Makhdū-mu-'l-Mulk. So broad-minded was he in religious matters that he was commonly suspected of being a heretic. But the fact is that he was so credulous that he would implicitly trust any person, even a manifest heretic, who was inclined to asceticism, and would stand before him with joined hands, and regard anything he might say as an authoritative utterance.

They say that a heretic who pretended to be mysteriously attracted to God one day came upon the *Qāẓī*, and that the *Qāẓī* after his custom, stood before him with his hands joined in 85
reverence. The heretic, deluded wretch, said, "Khiẓr[3] is always with me." The *Qāẓī* fell at his feet saying, "Show him to me." The heretic replied, "I am at present in great anxiety over the marriage of my daughter, an affair which will cost me seven hundred *tankas*; when my anxiety is removed I will effect a meeting between you and *Khiẓr*." The *Qāẓī* at once gave him seven hundred *tankas*. Two days later the man came to him and said, "Come that I may show you *Khiẓr*," and took him away with him to the river. Now the heretic was a very tall man, while the *Qāẓī* was low of stature. The heretic walked into the river until the water reached his neck, and then stood still, and said to the *Qāẓī*, "Come to me, for *Khiẓr* is here." The *Qāẓī* replied, "I cannot swim; how can I come to you?" The heretic replied, "Well, I have shown you the place where *Khiẓr* is, if you cannot come to it it is no fault of mine." Many other stories.

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[1] *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 545, where he is styled 'Quraishī' and ''Abbāsī.' The *Ṭabaqāt* says that he was for some years *qāẓī* of Lāhor.

[2] Literally, 'folk of the path,' *i.e.*, those who follow the ceremonial ordinances, as opposed to the Ṣūfis, who discard them.

[3] *Vide* Hughes' *Dict. of Islām*, p. 272.

even more laughable than this, are told of the *Qāẓī*, and to detail them would be to show the weakness of his intellect. His extreme simplicity can be estimated from the example cited.

When the Emperor bestowed[1] on the chief men of Lāhōr appointments in various parts of the Empire, and sent each one of them to fill some post in one city or another, Ṣadru-'d-dīn was appointed to be *Qāẓī* of the seaport town of Bahrōc, in the province of Gujarāt, and was despatched thither in that capacity. There he died, leaving behind him a son possessed of ability, named Shaikh Muḥammad, who now holds in that city the appointment held by his late father.

XIII. Miyāṅ Ilāhdād of Lakhnau.

He was one of those sages whose knowledge is always at command and ready for use. He possessed a naturally acute intellect and intuitive intelligence. In knowledge of practical theology and the first principles of that science, and of Arabic, he had no equal. He wrote a treatise on syntax which he named after one of the nobles, *Quṭbī* by name,[2] and which contained some evidence of its author's industry.

I went to Lakhnau at the time when Ḥusain Khān was gover-
86 nor of that place,[3] and met the *Miyāṅ*. Among his works there were two books which struck me as being wonderful. One was a treatise, written in columns, which covered a piece of paper capable of containing fourteen lines of ordinary writing, and as broad as it was long. In this treatise the leading principles and

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[1] On the dispersal of the *'Ulamā*.

[2] A passage occurs here which I am unable to translate. It runs as follows:—

بالزام ایراد یصلح مثال درعین عبارت نه سابق و نه لا حق

Both MSS. substitute بصلح for یصلح, and MS. (A) substitutes عبادت for عبارت, but even with these variants the passage is obscure and the text appears to me to be corrupt.

[3] *Vide* p. 6, note 4. Ḥusain Khān was appointed to Lakhnau in A.H. 974 (A.D. 1566-67) and was transferred thence to Kānt-n-Gūla in A.H. 975 (A.D. 1567-68).

problems of fourteen different branches of knowledge were succinctly set forth. The other consisted of four *Maqāmahs* from a treatise in which the style of the *Maqāmātu-'l-Ḥarīrī*[1] was imitated, which treatise he entitled *Qīṭūn*.[2] He told me that he had composed other works besides these. His cousins, however, said that the treatise on fourteen different branches of knowledge and the *Qīṭūn* were written by Ḥakīm Zibriqī,[3] who, having come to Jaunpūr, employed himself in collating books, together with the well-known[4] Qaẓī Shihābu-'d-dīn. These works, they said, found their way, in the course of time, to the library of Shaikh A'ẓam of Lakhnau, who obtained the title of *Ṣānī-yi-Imām-i-A'ẓam*,[5] and thence came into the hands of Miyāṅ Ilāhdād, who was a descendant of Shaikh A'ẓam;—and God knows the truth of the matter!

XIV. Mīr Sayyid Jalālu-'d-dīn-i-Qādirī,[6] of Āgra.

He was one of the greatest of the *Sayyids* of Āgra, and was pre-eminent in his piety and resignation to the Divine will. From his youth to the end of his life he lived in seclusion, avoiding the society of the wealthy[7] and all pomps and ceremony, and in his capacity as deputy of his holiness, the Ghauṣ[8] of the Everlasting God, the pole-star (of religion) fixed by the Lord, the inhabitant of that place which is beyond locality, Shaikh Muḥīyyu-'d-dīn

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[1] 'The assemblies of Ḥarīrī'; one of the Arabian classics.

[2] A Turkish word, signifying 'a border,' 'an edging of silk'; and hence, in analogy of the Arabic word حاشية, 'a supplement or commentary.' The aptness of the title will be understood if it be remembered that حرير (*harīr*) in Arabic means 'silk.'

[3] MS. (A) has زيرقي (*Zīraqī*). I have not been able to find any mention of Zibriqī elsewhere.

[4] MS. (B) has مسطور, 'above-mentioned.'

[5] *i.e.*, 'Second (only) to the greatest of the *Imāms* (Abū Ḥanīfah).'

[6] The Qādirīs are an order of *darvīshes*. *Vide* p. 12, note 4.

[7] MS. (A) has اغيار ('strangers') with اغنيا ('the wealthy') as a correction in the margin.

[8] غوث (*ghauṣ*) means 'defender' or 'helper' and is a common title of Muḥammadan saints.

'Abdu-'l-Qādir-i-Jīlānī (may God be gratified with him and cause him to be gratified with us!), he received pupils up to the time when he bade farewell to this fleeting world. At this time his son, strong in the faith, Mīr Sayyid Dā'ūd, is the representative of his reverend father, and spends his life in holy poverty, indigence, and peregrination. As the auspicious splendour of his dread Majesty the Emperor and the pomp of the greatness of his glorious progeny shone with ever-increasing brilliancy over the horizon of the imperial domain of Āgra, the effulgence of this 87 unfortunate family has abated in splendour, and the families of other deceased saints too have declined in like manner.

Couplet.

"Hundreds of thousands of children were beheaded
Before he who spake with God[1] saw the light."

XV. SHAIKH ḤUSAIN OF AJMER.

It is commonly reported that he was a descendant of that pole-star of holy men, and king of true lovers of God Khāja Mu'īn-u-'d-dīn-i-Sanjarī-yi-Cishtī[2] (may God hallow his soul)! Since the Emperor, in the days when he first began especially to venerate his holiness the *Khāja* of Ajmer, happened to slight the claims of the *Shaikh* (to descent from him) some perverse fellows, prompted thereto by certain *Shaikhs* of Fatḥpūr, men who have endeavoured to the utmost to depose and discredit those of their own class (may God reward them therefor!), gave evidence against his claim to descent from the *Khāja*, saying that his holiness left no descendants, and the *Ṣadrs* and *Qāẓīs* also issued decrees to that effect, being guided by their time-serving dispositions.

Hemistich.

"The age hath its raiment. Be thou clad therein!"

Thus the hereditary trusteeship of the shrine which had come down to him through so many years was transferred to others. The *Shaikh*, who was a man of great estate, lived in that province like a king, and the Emperor's regal jealousy, both on this account and on account of certain other events which happened, could not endure the Shaikh's position, so he ordered him to leave India and to journey to Makkah, and the Shaikh accordingly took formal leave of his Majesty during the march to Bānswāla,[1] and, after successfully performing the pilgrimage to Makkah, returned. Having accomplished his journey to the Ḥijāz, he paid his respects at Court, on his return, on the very day on which the Emperor had marched from Fatḥpūr towards Kabul against Muhammad Ḥakīm Mīrzā; but he would not conform to the ceremonies which have in these days been established by those who have accepted a new faith and have been recently converted to Islām, new followers of a new order of 88 things.

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[1] *i.e.*, Moses. The allusion is to the slaughter of the children of the Israelites by Pharaoh's order.

[2] The great saint of Ajmer. *Vide* vol. i. trans., Ranking, p. 70, and note 2.

The Emperor, after studying the page of the *Shaikh*'s life and the lines of his forehead read there the signs of disaffection to himself, and commanded that the *Shaikh* should be imprisoned in the fortress of Bakkar.[2] There he spent some years, and at last, in the year H. 1002 (A.D. 1593-94), owing to the efforts made on his behalf by certain courtiers who had his Majesty's confidence, he was summoned from Bakkar to the Imperial presence, and, in company with some other prisoners, such as Shaikh Kamāl-i-Biyābānī, the impostor, some mention of whom has already been made,[3] and the *Qāẓīs* of Fatḥpūr, who had been imprisoned in Bakkar for fourteen years, owing to the machinations of Shaikh Ibrāhīm-i-Cishtī,[4] and whose release had been ordered by means of the intercession of Mīrzā Niz̤āmu-'d-dīn Aḥmad,[1] he arrived at Court, and there they all paid their respects to his Majesty, and all, with the exception of the *Shaikh*, prostrated themselves. He, an old man of seventy years of age, utterly unaccustomed to the ceremonial of kingly courts and the correct fashion of waiting upon royal personages, made a slight inclination and a mere bow, after the old custom. The Emperor's displeasure with him was renewed, and the *Mīrzā* was ordered to have a grant of three hundred *bīgas* of land in Bakkar made out to him, as *madad-i-ma'āsh*,[2] and to despatch the *Shaikh* thither once more. Begum Pādshāh, the mother of his Majesty, busied herself in the ladies' apartments of the palace in interceding for the *Shaikh*, and said to the Emperor, "My son, he has an aged and decrepit mother in Ajmer, whose heart yearns to see her son again. How would it be if you were to give him leave to depart to Ajmer? He desires no *madad-ī-ma'āsh* from you." The Emperor would not accede to her request, and said, "Mother, he will start business afresh in the place to which he is now going, and people will present to him alms, presents, and complimentary gifts in plenty. He leads a number of men astray. In fine, let him summon his mother hither." This treatment of his mother was much bitterer to the Shaikh than was the mere going to Bakkar.

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[1] In A.D. 1577.

[2] Bhakkar. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 300.

[3] *Vide* vol. ii, text, pp. 300, 366.

[4] Shaikh Ibrāhīm was the son of Shaikh Mūsā and elder brother of Shaikh Salīm-i-Cishtī of Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, to whose intercessions the birth of Sultān Salīm (Jahāngīr) was attributed. In A.H. 986 (A.D. 1578-79) he was made governor of Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, and it was apparently while he held that post that he had the *qāẓīs* of the town imprisoned. He died in A.H. 999 (A.D. 1590-91). *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 402, and Badāonī, vol. ii, text, p. 374 *et passim*.

On the night on which the *Ṣadr-i-Jahān* summoned the com-
piler of these historical selections to the Imperial presence in
connection with the *Shaikh's* resignation of his trusteeship of the
89 shrine in Ajmer, as has already been mentioned, the Emperor was
perturbed in respect of that case, which he had himself brought
forward, and refused to ratify the decree (with regard to the
resignation), and retained the *Shaikh* in his service. He said to
the *Ṣadr-i-Jahān*, "Where is that simple-hearted old man?"
(meaning Shaikh Ḥusain). I reminded him that he was in
Lāhōr, and urged the *Ṣadr-i-Jahān*, since I myself was unworthy
to hold such a blessed position, to have him appointed as the

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[1] Author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.

[2] A grant in aid of livelihood.

trustee of the shrine in that protected[1] city, and so restore to him his just due. But, since it is not in the nature of natives of India to work in the interests of their own brethren, or to trust one another, the efforts of the *Ṣadr-i-Jahān* availed neither in my case, unfortunate wretch that I am, nor in the case of *Shaikh* Ḥusain. That aged man, whose sins have surely been forgiven by God, now lives in affliction and distress, in perturbation of spirit and in perplexity, seated in the nook of obscurity, unable to haunt the doors of the great ones of this world, or to obtain their influence and interest on his behalf; while at the same time the road of representation is closed to him, and all hopes[2] of the intercession of others in his behalf are ruined.

But, to continue: the *Shaikh's* existence is a blessing and a boon to be highly prized by his contemporaries. I was not personally acquainted with him till recently, but now that he has returned from his pilgrimage to the Hijāz, and has suffered bonds, he appears to me to be a quantity of (heavenly) light, and an angel in bodily form. Never have I known him to speak of worldly matters, either in public or in private. He is ever employed in austerities, in worship, and in striving in the way of holiness, fasting continually and always watching at night. It is my hope that God (may He be praised and glorified!) will open to him the door of his desire, in accordance with the text, "Verily a difficulty shall be attended with ease, aye, verily a difficulty shall be attended with ease." It is my hope, too, that God will speedily recompense him for his afflictions with the blessing described in the couplet:—

Couplet.

When hardships press upon thee, think on the chapter "Have we not opened?"[3]
And the word "difficulty" lies between two repetitions of the word "ease,"
When thou thinkest on this rejoice.

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[1] محفوظ (*maḥfūẓ*), protected, that is to say, from evil by the presence therein of Mu'īnu-d-dīn Cishtī's shrine.

[2] Literally, 'the house of intercession is ruined.'

[3] The ninety-fourth chapter of the *Qur'ān*, from which the test is quoted.

I pray, too, that I, bondsman of this world as I am, may by
90 the blessing of that leader of all the pious, attain salvation, that, being delivered from my purposeless pursuits, my wild talk, levity, folly, and futile scribbling, I may reach my "true native land" and abiding city, to meet there my departed wife, children, and relatives, and, above all my son, and that I may be enabled to employ what remains to me of life in some occupation that shall serve me hereafter.

Couplet.

My purpose is, if it be possible,
So to employ myself as to dissipate my grief.

And since these lines were written just as the scroll of felicity was unfolding itself, and the blessed breeze of morn was beginning to blow, and the true dawn was just breaking, what wonder if the arrow of my disinterested prayer strikes the target of acceptance through the bounty of the Lord, on whose boundless mercy I have always trained myself to believe, and by whose free grace I have been nourished?

Couplet.

91 "He may well unfold the desire of my fortune, for which last night
"I prayed, and the true dawn broke."[1]

These complainings are out of place here, but what can I do? My soul and heart are so oppressed with weakness and uneasiness that these few bitter lamentations have escaped from the pipe of my tongueless pen. Please God I shall be excused and forgiven.

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[1] This couplet is from an ode of Hāfiẓ, No. 236 in Colonel Jarrett's edition of Hāfiẓ. For صبح صادق in the second hemistich Colonel Jarrett's edition reads صبح آئین. without any variant. A fine MS. of Hāfiẓ in my possession reads صبح صادق. The same MS. reads گویا, or rather, as it is written, گوییا, for غالبا in the first hemistich. This reading does not commend itself to me. The Cawnpore edition of Hāfiẓ (1902) reads آمین for آئین or صادق.

Couplet.

"I am not one to weep from grief of heart,
But this load of grief heavily oppresses my heart."

XVI. SHAIKH 'ABDU-'L-QĀDIR.[1]

He was an inhabitant of Ucch, and was the delight of the heart and the apple of the eye of his holiness Shaikh Ḥāmid-i-Qādiri: may God make his soul fragrant!

At the time when that holy man (may God the most High have mercy upon him!) was in Āgra in the days when Bairām Khān, the *Khānkhānān*, was in power, I was a student, but I had not the good fortune of waiting on him. When Bairām Khān, owing to the machinations of malevolent and perverse persons, the chief of whom was Shaikh Gadā'i,[2] became puffed up with pride on account of his transient high position, he began to regard the holy *Shaikh* with disfavour, and summoned him from Ucch. The *Shaikh* was much displeased, and declared that the order augured ill for his persecutor, and there happened to Bairām Khān what did happen.[3] But Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauṣ used to attribute the subsequent confusion in the affairs of Bairām Khān to his own journey to Court (in obedience to a summons).

When the holy *Shaikh* Ḥāmid returned to Multan his soul, now resting on high, conveyed itself in the sacred shrine to the neighbourhood of the attendants of the sublime court of heaven and his pure body was committed to the ground in the village of Ḥāmidpūr, a dependency of Multān.

There had been for many years a dispute between Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir and his younger brother, Shaikh Mūṣā, regarding the title to the *Shaikh*-dom, and Shaikh Mūṣā, consequently, spent most of his time at Court. One night when the Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir was at Fatḥpūr oil of poppies was offered to him, and he declared the use of it to be unlawful. The Emperor was displeased with him on account of what he said on this occasion, and one day in the hall of audience at Fatḥpūr, after the congregational prayers had been recited, the *Shaikh* busied himself with his supererogatory devotions. The Emperor said, "*Shaikh*, perform your supererogatory devotions in your own house." The 92 *Shaikh* replied, "Sire, in this kingdom your commands have no force." The Emperor was much displeased and said, "What an ignorant fellow is this *Shaikh*." He then said, "Since you do not desire what my power can give you, remain no longer in my kingdom." The *Shaikh* immediately left the assembly, resigned his *madad-i-ma'āsh*, and ceased to prosecute his case against his younger brother. He retired to Ucch, the burial place of his revered predecessors, and, in Shaikh Mūsạ̄'s absence, removed the bones of the holy Shaikh Ḥāmid to Ucch, and followed the sublime and laudable rule of his predecessors. He now walks, with the footsteps of resignation, in the way of holy poverty, and receives so much in the way of alms that he has no need of any *madad-i-ma'āsh*. Now Shaikh Mūsạ̄, after all the years which he has spent in piety, devotion, holy endeavour, and saintliness, has become a secular follower of the Emperor, has adopted the profession of arms, and, having resigned his former service, has now become a commander of five hundred horse. This is similar to the story of a man who became a Musalmān, to whom one said, "You have done well, there were too few Musalmāns without you!"[1]

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[1] Vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 544.

[2] Vide *supra* No. V.

[3] *Scil.* his removal from his position by Akbar. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 36. As a matter of fact many things contributed to Bairam's fall. He was unfortunate in having the whole interest of the family of Akbar's foster-mother arrayed against him.

So long as Shaikh Mūsạ̄ was with the Emperor he would, at the stated times for prayer, whether he were in the public or the private hall of audience, himself utter the call to prayer, and would then lead the congregational prayers in the presence of the *Khalīfah* of the age, and none could gainsay him.

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[1] Badāonī apparently means to be sarcastic, insinuating that there were plenty of *ci-devant* holy men who had relinquished the service of God for the service of Akbar. With reference to what follows, however, he may mean that the imperial service was benefited by the accession of at least one true Muslim.

When news was brought to Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir of his brother's new rank at Court, he said, "He well deserves the command of a thousand horse. Why did he not enter the imperial service before, and receive a *jāgīr* in Multān, instead of causelessly quarrelling for so long?"

Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir, well content with the honour and high place which he has gained through holy poverty, follows the rule of his noble ancestors and, sitting as their successor, employs himself in guiding and teaching the people, and spends his precious time in worship, in the practice of severe austerities, and in holy endeavour, so that his leadership in the religious world is established.[1]

Couplet.

We will not deprive ourselves of the honour of holy poverty 93
  and contentment;
Tell the king that our daily bread has been appointed for us
  by God.

XVII. Shaikh Kabīr.

He was the spiritual successor of his holiness Shaikh Bahā'u-'d-dīn Zakarīyā[2] (may God sanctify his soul!). The people of Multan gave him the title of *Valī* (saint), and so great was their faith in him that he could, if he chose, assemble a thousand horsemen in one day. He employed his time so busily that he took his meals at variable times, as it were, and owing to the redness of his eyes, caused really by his night watches, the common people believed him to be a drunkard.

"So much is my own blood my drink that all night long I
  am beside myself,
"And for this reason men charge me with wine-bibbing."

Nevertheless, Shaikh Mūsā-i-Qādirī, who has been mentioned above, always attributed the redness of Shaikh Kabīr's eyes to actual drunkenness, and he would continually say, "I fear that the saints of old, too, whose morals we read of in books, were like Shaikh Kabīr, who is well known as a "Saint," and that the old poets, also, were like Shaikh Faiẓī and the rest of them." God forbid!

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[1] Literally, 'has been stamped as current coin.'

[2] *Vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, 133 and note 2; and *Āīn-i-Akbarī* iii, 362 and note 3. Badāonī does not, of course, mean that Kabīr was the immediate successor of this saint, who died in A.D. 1267-68. In the *Ṭabaqāt* Kabīr is said to have been an actual descendant of Bahā'u-d-dīn Zakarīyā.

I saw Shaikh Kabīr once at Fatḥpūr, when I was with Ḥusain Khān, and observed his dignity of appearance, and I firmly believe that inwardly he was a knower of hidden secrets.

(A fragment[1] from Sa'dī.)

"Whomsoever thou seest clad in the garments of holiness,
"Believe him to be holy, and a pious man,
"If thou knowest not his actual state.
"What business has the police officer within the house?"

His death took place in the year H. 995 (A.D. 1587) and he is buried in the burial place of his venerable forefathers (may blessing and peace be upon them!).

94 XVIII. MĪR SAYYID 'ALĪ OF LŪDHIĀNA.

He is one of the faithful men of this age, and is among the greatest of the spiritual representatives of Shaikh 'Abdu-'r-Razzāq of Jhanjhāna, a noted *Shaikh*, who was widely venerated by ecstatic mystics, and followed by those who had acquired learning and perfection.

The *Mīr* passed his eightieth year, and advanced well into his ninth decade, and throughout his precious life he never set foot outside his house once he had received authoritative permission to give religious instruction. He was resorted to by the great, and by all, both rich and poor. Many miracles are related of him, and whosoever was honoured by the *Mīr's* companionship, and in all sincerity enrolled himself among his disciples, obtained grace to avoid all forbidden things and wanton pastimes, to ally himself to the Fount of all grace, and to attain his true object. Among such was Muḥammad Ja'far, the relative of Mīrzā Niẓāmu-'d-dīn Aḥmad, an orthodox youth, but polluted with debauchery. When he travelled from Lāhōr to take up the

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[1] قطعه. The text does not give the source of the quotation. I have inserted it from MS. (A). The verses are well known.

faujdārī [1] of the *pargana* of Shamsābād,[2] which was in the *Mīrzā's jāgīr*, and reached Lūdhiāna, he enrolled himself among Mīr Sayyid 'Alī's disciples, and, by God's grace, repented of his sins, and, leaving aside all [3] things that should be shunned,[4] and everything that is forbidden, frequently begged the *Mīr* to offer up a prayer [5] that he might attain to the dignity of martyrdom. The *Mīr* offered up prayers in accordance with his request, and in the course of three or four months Muḥammad Ja'far became so well known for his piety, abstinence, asceticism, and devotion, that he became an object of envy [6] to many of the pious, and he, who used with much pride and pomp, and with many attendants, to recite his night prayers, now drew water for his ceremonial ablutions without the help of any servant, and aroused nobody.

In a short time the *Mīr's* prayer was answered, and in a village 95
in the *pargana* of Shamsābād Muḥammad Ja'far attained to the dignity of martyrdom,[7] fighting manfully against the warlike infidels.

In that same year I waited on Mīr Sayyid 'Alī, on the occasion on which I, in company with Mīrzā Niẕāmu-'d-dīn Aḥmad, obtained leave to visit my beloved home. The conversation turned on the martyrdom of Ja'far, and Mīr Sayyid 'Alī said, "It is admissible for martyrs to satisfy their love of pleasure in this world as well (as in the next), as is certain from the following text which occurs in the glorious word of God :—‘ Nay, rather, alive with their Lord they are provided for, rejoicing.’ ”[1] He then said, in this connection, “ There was a newly married youth who met his death by martyrdom in this neighbourhood, and after his death he used to return always on Friday nights, in appearance the same as when he was alive, and pass the night with his wife in conjugal intercourse.” I said, “ They say too that deceased martyrs are capable of begetting children in these circumstances, and it is well known that this is a fact. In the *pargana* town of Basāwar, which was my birthplace, an Afghān named Isḥāq suffered martyrdom but used to consort with his newly-married wife after his death, visiting her every Friday night. He ordered her to keep the matter secret, but shortly afterwards, when the woman became pregnant, she was accused of misconducting herself. On being much pressed she revealed the whole matter to her mother-in-law, Isḥāq’s mother, and one Friday night showed her the form of her son. The mother cried out, calling her son by name, and tried to embrace him. The shape vanished, and from that day forth Isḥāq appeared no more. His mother dug a well and named it after him, and the well exists to this day. How can these things be ? ” Mīr Sayyid ‘Alī answered, “ They are possible, and they are not contrary to reason.” Mīrzā Niẕāmu-’d-dīn Aḥmad said, “ It may be that a *jinn* appeared in the outward form of the Martyr.” The *Mīr* said, “ A *jinn* has not the power to appear in the semblance of the bodies of prophets, saints, pious men, and martyrs.”

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[1] The *faujdār* was the chief military and police officer of a *pargana*, or 'hundred.'

[2] Headquarters of a *pargana* in the *sarkār* of Qannauj in the *ṣūba* of Āgra, *vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, ii, 185. Now a town in the Qāimganj *taḥṣīl* of the Farrukhābād District in the U. P., *vide* Imp. Gazetteer (new series), xxii, 229.

[3] جميع, omitted from the text, though both MSS. have it.

[4] محذورات MS. (A) has محذرات which is not so good a reading.

[5] فاتحه the opening chapter of the *Qur'ān* which is recited as a prayer with intention.

[6] غبطه. Badāonī always used the word in this wrong sense, *vide supra* p. 30, note 2, also vol. i, trans. Ranking, 395 and 543, note 4.

[7] In A.H. 999 (A.D. 1590-91), *vide* vol. ii, text, p. 376. Muḥammad Ja'far was the son of Niẕāmu-d-dīn's maternal aunt.

The death of the Mīr occurred in the year H. 1002 (A.D. 1593-94), or H. 1003 (A.D. 1594-95). One of the learned men
96 of the time found that the words, “ The religious leader of mankind,”[2] gave the date of his death. The *Mīr's* worthy son, Mīr Sayyid Maḥmūd, has succeeded him.

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[1] بل احياء عند ربهم يرزقون فرحين. *Qur’ān* iii, part of *verses* 163, 164.

[2] شيخ انام. This chronogram gives the date A.D. 1002 (A.D. 1593-94).

XIX. Shaikh Mu'īn.

He was the grandson of Maulānā Mu'in the preacher, a well-known man, the author of the *Ma'ārij u-'n-nubūwah.*[1] Shaikh Mu'īn (of whom I am writing) was an angel in human form. He was employed for some time, under the *farmān* of the *Khalīfah* of the age, as *Qāzī* of Lāhōr. They say that he never decided a case, and that if a plaintiff pressed for the decision of his suit he would with much insistence and lamentation and with protestations of his own incompetence, say, "For God's sake compromise the matter between you, so that I may avoid responsibility, and have no cause for repentance or shame." He would also say, "You both know all about the case; it is my misfortune that I, who know nothing of it, am left alone to decide between two who knew all about it. Do not, then, give me cause to be ashamed before the Court of God, the Most High!" If a woman prayed for a separation from her husband on the ground of his absence from her he would provide her with means of livelihood to the extent of his ability, and would say, "Take this much for your subsistence and await your husband's return: do not separate from him."

He devoted his subsistence allowance, over which he had exclusive rights, to the pay of scribes, whom he used to employ to copy valuable books, and he used to collate the copies and have them bound, and would then present them to students. This was his principal occupation and employment throughout his life, and he must have distributed thousands of such volumes to the people.

In the year H. 995 (A.D. 1587) he took his departure from this world, the sojourning place of toil, for the garden of eternity, leaving two sons, one of whom is famous in all riots and combats for his skill in wrestling, while the other is a noted pigeon-flier. On account of these accomplishments their names were mentioned the Emperor, and he was a spectator of their performances. **97**

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[1] The text has *Mi'rāj*, but both MSS. have *Ma'ārij*, which reading I have adopted. The title of the book, which I have not found mentioned elsewhere means "Steps to prophet-hood."

"The living comes forth from the dead and the dead comes forth from the living." [1]

XX. Mīr 'Abdu-'l-Laṭīf of Qazvīn.

He was a *Saifī* Sayyid descended from Ḥasan. He was well-versed both in those branches of knowledge which depend upon the exercise of the reasoning faculties and in those which depend upon the exercise of the memory. Every step in his pedigree is historical, as Ḥairatī, the famous poet, wrote in an ode in praise of Qāẕī Yaḥyā, the venerable father of the *Mīr* :—

"Tales of history should be heard from his lips,
For no one has seen his like in history."

He or one of his relations found the date of the perversion of S͟hāh Isma'īl in the words, "the untrue religion." When he was arrested in consequence he said, "I said 'the religion' wrongly," [2] and obtained his freedom by this artifice. The *Saifī Sayyids* were all bigoted *Sunnīs*, and S͟hāh Ṭahmāsp deprived them of their families and estates on this charge, and this was the cause of Mīr 'Abdu-'l-Laṭīf's coming to India. I heard this from Mīrzā G͟hiyāṣu-'d-dīn 'Alī,[3] who is entitled Āṣaf K͟hān. When Mīr 'Abdu-'l-Laṭīf and his family fell into disfavour with the (Persian) king, Mīr 'Alā'u-'d-daulah, the writer of the *Taẕkirah*, who was the younger brother of 'Abdu-'l-Laṭīf and had been brought up by him, and who used to call him *Ḥaẓrat-i-Āqā*, with some object of his own in view wrote an ode, declaring his complete separation and estrangement from his brother. One of the hemistichs of that ode is as follows :—

"I utter curses on Yaḥyā and on Ḥaẓrat-i-Āqā." [4]

98 People said to him, "The *Mīr* brought you up by his side, why

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[1] That is to say, the dead S͟haik͟h lives in his works while from his living sons proceeds nothing but dead works.

[2] *i.e.*, 'I was wrong in calling it a religion at all.' S͟hāh Isma'īl's 'perversion' was to the *S͟hī'ah* faith.

[3] The text omits '*Alī*, though both MSS. have it, and it is correct. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 433.

[4] Mīr 'Alā'u-d-daulah had apparently become a *S͟hī'ah*.

have you insulted him?" He answered, "Do you not see that I have shown my gratitude to him by mentioning him by the title of *Ḥaẓrat-i-Āqā*, while I have mentioned my father by his name only, without any honorific title?" To be brief, the depraved heretics worked on the mind of S͟hāh Ṭahmāsp, and completely alienated him from Mīr Yaḥyā, and the *S͟hāh* sent a royal messenger, a man of devilish aspect, and in appearance like the guardians of hell, from Āẕarbā'ījān with a written order which ran as follows:—"Since Mīr Yaḥyā and his son Mīr 'Abdu-'l-Laṭīf are full of zeal for the *Sunnī* persuasion, and are the chief cause of the staunchness of the *Sunnīs* of Qazvīn, therefore take both these men, and collect all the *Sunnī* books which can be found within the limits of their jurisdiction, and send them to me, and take their wives and families to Iṣfahān." Thereupon Mīr 'Alā'u-'d-daulah who was then in Āẕarbāījān sent a swift messenger with a letter to this effect, and the royal messengers arrested Mīr Yaḥyā who was known as "Yaḥyā the innocent," [1] and he was kept in Iṣfahan in bonds for eighteen months, until he was released at once from those bonds and from the bonds of this world of vexation and anguish. Mīr 'Abdu-'l-Laṭīf sought safety in flight and withdrew himself for a time to the mountains, and, relying on the promise of his late Majesty, came to India where he was honoured by being received into the imperial service and was gladdened by the emoluments which he received through the boundless liberality and generosity of the emperor. His present majesty also took some lessons from him in various passages of the *Dīvān* of K͟hāja Ḥāfiẓ and other books.

On the 5th *Rajab* in the year H. 981 (Oct. 31, 1573) in the new town of Fatḥpūr Mīr 'Abdu-'l-Laṭīf took his departure for paradise, the abode of bliss, and obtained the everlasting blessings of the heavenly damsels and mansions, and was buried on the ramparts of the fortress of Ajmer close to Mīr Sayyid Ḥussain, "*K͟hing-sawār.*" [2] Qāsim-i-Arsalān found the chronogram

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[1] Or 'the divinely protected from error.'

[2] 'The rider of the grey horse.' Mīr Sayyid Ḥusain is a saint who has a shrine at Ajmer.

99 "The glory of the race of Yas"[1] for the date of his death.

Mīr 'Abdu-'l-Laṭīf's fortunate, noble, and orthodox son Mīrzā G͟hiyāṣu-'d-dīn 'Alī-yi-Āk͟hund, entitled Naqīb K͟hān,[2] who is endowed with angelic qualities and adorned with the graces and perfection of learning, has no equal either in Arabia or in Persia in his knowledge of works on travel, of history, and of chronicles, as has been said before. The author is more intimate with him than with any of the courtiers, and was his schoolfellow from childhood. He is now strenuously employed, night and day, in the imperial service, and for a whole generation past has been engaged in reading works on history, books of story, and anecdotes, and legends, both in Persian and in Hindi, which latter works have in these days been translated. One may say indeed that he has become a part of the life of the *K͟halīfah* of the age, who never dreams of losing his companionship for a moment. Of late he has been suffering from slight fever, but it is hoped that he will be blessed with a rapid recovery and complete restoration to health. Since the good are everywhere acceptable may they live long! As for the evil ones of the age, what need is there to utter prayers for them? The evil that they do brings its own reward and evil befalls the tongue which pollutes itself by the mention of these nameless scoundrels.

XXI. K͟HĀJA MUḤAMMAD YAḤYĀ.

He was a descendant in the fourth generation of the holy K͟hāja Aḥrār[3] (may God sanctify his soul!). He was well acquainted with the seven styles of penmanship, and was a professor of that art. He had great practice and wonderful skill in medicine and therapeutics. His excellent qualities and disposition were an inheritance which he had received from his forbears, and although he was little given to discourse he exercised hospitality, and whatever he received from his *jāgīr* was 100 spent in furnishing the table of friendship. He was the benefactor both of high and low. When the new heresy was introduced and the influence of the vilest of men waxed great he withdrew from this society and obtained leave to perform the pilgrimage to the *Ḥijāz*. He was made "leader of the pilgrimage" and was sent on his way to the holy places with ample store for the journey. When he had attained the felicity of completing the pilgrimage he returned, and passed his precious time in Āgra, in devotion and the service of the Most High God, which alone is the object for which man was created, until the importunate messenger of doom seized the garment of his holy life, and invited him to the abode of nearness to God and the threshold of His greatness, so that having obtained his release from this abode of distraction and darkness he entered into close fellowship with the faithful, the martyrs, and the pious.

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[1] The chronogram gives the date 981.

[2] *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 441. *Ak͟hund* means 'theologian,' 'preacher,' or 'tutor.' Naqīb K͟hān was made a commander of fifteen hundred at the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign, and died in A.D. 1614. He was buried at Ajmer, beside his wife, in the enclosure of Mu'īnu-d-dīn Cis͟htī's tomb.

[3] The renowed saint K͟hāja Nāṣiru-d-dīn 'Ubaidu-'llāh Aḥrār. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 322.

Couplet.

They call to thee from the highest heaven,
I know not what more thou hast to do with this world
  of snares.

XXII. Shaikh Ḥusain of Badakhshān.

He was one of the spiritual successors of the lord Shaikh Ḥusain of Kh'ārazm (may God sanctify his soul!). Religious ecstasy, overpowering him, used to reduce him to a state like inebriety. Daily, after early morning prayers, the *Miṣbāḥ*, written by Shaikh Rashīd (may God sanctify his soul!), used to be read in his venerable assembly, after the rule of the *Kibrawī* order, and he would then fall into a religious ecstasy, and in like manner he was assiduous in reading the *Masnavī* of the *Maulavī-yi-Ma'navī*.[1] His feet were firm in the path of the most pure law, and his speech sprang ever from spiritual knowledge, and affected the hearts of his hearers. If at times one would praise him he would say, "It is yourself that you are regarding."

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[1] Maulānā Jalālu-d-dīn-i-Rūmī.

He stayed some time in Badāon for the purpose of seeing some
101 Turks who had attached themselves to him as their spiritual
leader, and made that place resplendent with the light of his presence, and the bounty of his blessed companionship reached the inhabitants of that district. Returning thence he came to Āgra, and thence hastened to the court of the great God.

XXIII. Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir.

He is one of the descendants of Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir the second, of Ucch, who was entitled his holiness Ghauṣ-i-Rabbānī (may God be graciously pleased with them!). Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir and his younger brother, Shaikh Ilāh Bakhsh, were both educated in piety, devotion, and temperance, and were distinguished for their mental perfections. They lived for some time in Fatḥpūr, and the emperor, at the time when religious controversy waxed warm, extended his patronage to Shaikh Ilāh Bakhsh, and appointed him to Gujarāt with the title of *Ṣadr*, and sent him to Shāhbāz Khān.[1] This was, in fact, banishment. The Shaikh, however, rendered good service to the state, and constantly[2] sent express messengers with representations containing full news[3] of the rebels, and other matters, so that a commission was issued, granting him the rank of commander of three hundred. But just then the messenger of death delivered in his ear the joyful message, "Return thou to thy Lord," and he responded cheerfully to the messenger of God. His elder brother, Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir, was then banished to the glorious city of Makkah, and at the time when the Khānkhānān, son of Bairām Khān,[4] and Mīrzā Niẓāmu-'d-dīn Aḥmad had the control of affairs in Gujarāt, he went thither, and having obtained from them provisions for his journey and attached himself to a company of pilgrims he obtained the glory of performing the pilgrimage of the *Ḥajj*. Thence he returned to his own native place, Lāhōr, where he now lives,[1] engaged in the service of God and in devotion, and remaining steadfast in the same.

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[1] Shāhbāz Khān Kambū; *vide Āīn-i-Akbarī* i, 399. Shaikh Ilāh Bakhsh was apparently sent to Gujarāt in 1578-79, at which time Shāhbāz Khān was in Western Rājputāna.

[2] پیای as in both MSS. The text has پیاپی.

[3] اخبار as in both MSS. The text has اختیار.

[4] Mīrzā 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm: *vide Āīn-i-Akbarī* i, 334. It was probably in 1583 that Shaikh 'Abdul-'l-Qadir was sent to Makkah.

XXIV. SHAIKH ABŪ-'L-MA'ĀLĪ. 102

He is the nephew, the son-in-law and the spiritual successor of his holiness the true spiritual guide, the abode of saintship, him who is seated in the chair of unity, lord of the sword of might and the troop of power of the Eternal One, the manifestation of the perfections of Muḥammad, Miyāñ Shaikh Dā'ūd[2] (may God sanctify his soul!). He is, in the swift pursuit of righteousness, the phœnix of the age, a pattern in all states and assemblies of holy poverty and self-effacement. If mention be made of those favoured by God it is his name which is most appropriately mentioned, and if the talk be of those who excel their fellows it is his name which is first spoken. He is a man of lofty soul who has completely effaced himself in the love which he bears to his spiritual guide, a man of noble mind who knows no other occupation than the adoration of his saintly preceptor. He has himself written verses to that purport:—

Couplets.

" I am ever inebriated with the cup of love;
What should I know of 'this' and 'that'—
I who worship Dā'ūd ? "

" How can this frozen heart be warmed by the speech of all ?
Nay, it requires the breath of Dā'ūd, which can soften even iron."

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[1] In A.H. 1004 (A.D. 1595-96).

[2] *Vide* p. 47.

"I sit on the throne of poverty, now that I have attained my desire,
I reign like Sulaimān, for I am heart and soul the slave of Dā'ūd."

Quatrain.

"Lord, grant to me one glance of the eye which I desire,[1]
Grant to me freedom alike from being and non-existence,
And although I be not worthy of this high fortune,
Grant to me one atom of the love of Shaikh Dā'ūd."[2]

103 One of his sayings is this:—"Oh, Abū-'l-Ma'ālī, be the slave of the Lord, the Most High, and be not the slave of money and jewels!" It is said that in the year of his auspicious birth he was taken to his holiness, the universally respected[3] Miyān Shaikh Dā'ūd (may God sanctify his tomb!) and that his worthy father asked the Miyān to give a name to his auspicious offspring. His holiness the Miyān said, "Let his name be Shāh[4] Abū-'l-Ma'ālī." As this name was very uncommon in India the bestowal of it has been regarded as a prophecy of the return of the Mughuls,[5] and of the appearance of the army of the emperor Humāyūn (may his grave be fragrant!) and a year had not passed when that emperor, who has now obtained forgiveness of his sins, returned to India, and (the spiritual influence of) Abū-'l-Ma'ālī placed him who had thus conformed to that influence in possession of the country of the Panjab. The words "Abū-'l-Ma'ālī, the Worshipper of God" were found to give the date of his birth. The few flowing verses quoted below, which are to be interpreted mystically and not literally, are some of the products of his bright genius.

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[1] Or 'of my true object of desire.'

[2] In both MSS. the second and fourth hemistichs of this quatrain are transposed.

[3] Literally, 'the pole-star of pole-stars.'

[4] Sic.

[5] Because it was more common among them.

A fragment.

Ghurbatī [1] speaks in his religious ecstasy,
An ecstasy which is indeed altercation without speech.
It were impossible to describe the condition of his love,
Yet to refrain from doing so is another impossibility.

Ghurbatī! Make thy life a sacrifice to Him,
For the felicity of union with Him is not bestowed as a worthless gift.

Keep the mention of love in thine heart, and open not thy lips.
Keep the mouth of this flask well closed, lest (cold) air should enter it.

Ghurbatī! Raise the cry of 'I am God!' [2] and fear not the stake, **104**
For rope and stake are the means of ascent in this path.

That which we have seen and known of that Soul of Souls
(We learnt) not to repeat, but to see and to know.

The following copy of a letter is one of his wonderful epistles which he sent to me in Lāhor :—

Verses.

I increased my desire and my heart is in grief,
And within my bowels a fire is kindled.
When will the absent return from their long journey? [3]

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[1] The *takhallus* or poetical name of Abu-'l-Ma'ālī.

[2] The reference is to Manṣūr, *vide* p. 37, note 7.

[3] These verses should be completed by a fourth hemistich, which is wanting in the text and the MSS.

"My dear one,—At this time of dejection in my separation from every friend and stranger I had come to regard the news even of those who[1] asked after the well-being of all as a letter-carrier and messenger, and used to hope for greetings and a message, when suddenly your affectionate letter took the place of a prescription for the restoration to health of those cast down with melancholy at separation from their friends, and redoubled my desire to see you, and my affection. Now the verses of that holy man of the *Qādirī* order, the seething of whose waves of eloquence astonishes and bewilders the soul, expel the anguish of my heart, and I beg that you will excuse me (for quoting them):—

> Ho, ye (who hearken)! I wonder at all men.
> And in my drunkenness I see neither that which is before me nor that which is behind.
> And there is nothing, I swear by God, in my bowels but desire for you,
> My heart seeth you, as though I saw from your eyes.
> From my grave whisper in the ears of my absent friends
> That they are the objects of my regard both in life and death.
> When Munkir and Nakīr shall come to me
> 105 I shall answer to Nakīr at the time of his coming, and to Munkir.
> And will say 'Question not me, but another' concerning them, for I am verily their friend,
> And the bond of my love for them has suffered no change.
> We all convey salutations to all of you.
> Written by the humble Abū-'l-Ma'ālī."

And in another letter he wrote the following couplet:—

> "As for that dear one who nightly moveth near me,
> Blest will be the day when he appears clearly before me."

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[1] Both MSS. insert ('and') here.

"Salutations blended with the desire of seeing you and flaunted like the banners of the *Dā'ūdiyyah* branch of the *Qādiriyyah* order are sent to you. Know that your friend has important business with Maulānā ‘Abdu-’l-Ghafūr and Shaikh ‘Umar, which can be settled by a moment's attention from you. If you can spare any of your precious time to bring it about it will, in truth, be most fruitful in benefits. My blessing."

XXV. MAULĀNĀ JALĀL OF TALA.

Tala is a famous quarter of Lāhōr. The Maulānā is a relative of Ḥājī Mahdī, who was one of the most famous *Shaikhs.* He is now one of the most learned men of the time, and has been appointed as a teacher at Lāhōr. He is a pupil of Mullā Isma‘īl of Ucch, and has also received instruction from other teachers. He is a most expert lapidary, possesses great acumen, and has much store of learning in all branches of knowledge, both those which call for the exercise of the reasoning faculty and those which depend on the memory. They say that he has been engaged in teaching since he was eight years old. He has a good delivery and speaks unambiguously so that he is able readily to convey to the understanding of his pupils the sense of arguments on knotty points of speculative and traditional science. He is kind-hearted, pious and religious, and has the *Qur'ān* by heart. He is endowed with noble qualities. The correction and arrangement of the Quranic exegesis[1] of Shaikh Faiẓī is principally his work. His age is between fifty and sixty.

Couplet.

What of argument regarding knowledge? Though it travel as far as *Farqad,*[2] **106**
The mention of the name of Maulānā Jamālu-’d-dīn Muḥammad will accompany it.

XXVI. MAULĀNĀ ‘ABDU-’SH-SHAKŪR OF LĀHŌR.

He is a most eminent and distinguished sage, and well known for the vigour of his understanding and his natural acumen. His belief in the *Shaikhs* is unshaken, and the firmness of his confidence in these men is wonderful. Most of his precious time is expended in perusing the works of this class of men, and he employs his life in the recitation of supererogatory prayers and petitions and in the perusal of the *Qur'ān*, and whatever comes to his board is at the disposal of the poor and needy. At the time when the controversy with the '*Ulamā* and the *Shaikhs* took place he was banished,[1] and having been appointed to be Qāẓī of Jaunpūr he was sent thither. When he joined the imperial Court at the time when it was at Ilāhābad[2] the *Qāẓī*-ship of Jaunpūr was bestowed on the Ottoman *Qāẓī-zāda*, an accomplished man of pleasant disposition and adorned with many mental perfections. Since that time Maulānā 'Abdu-'sh-Shakūr has remained there in retirement, engaged in teaching and imparting knowledge, contenting himself with what is sufficient for subsistence, averse from covetousness, far removed from worldly perils and fears, and near to the salvation of faith.

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[1] The سواطع الالهام (‘rays of inspiration’).

[2] One of two bright stars near the North Pole.

XXVII. Shaikh Kabīr, son of Shaikh Munawwar.[3]

He is the successor of his respected father. He is a young man who in childhood attained to perfection and excelled holy men. If in these latter days there be a son who is better than was his father it may be said that it is he who has attained this
107 condition. He prosecuted his studies in most of those branches of knowledge which are included in the ordinary curriculum under his father, and his respected father-in-law, Miyān Sa'du-'llāh Banī Isrā'īl, and subsequently made the society and companionship of his fellows the rule of his life, and became a

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[1] In A.D. 1579. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 277, where 'Abdu-sh-Shakūr is called *Gauldār*, i.e., wearer of a *darvīsh's* robe.

[2] In A.D. 1583. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 334.

[3] Shaikh Munawwar was born at Lāhor and was noted for his memory and learning. When the '*Ulamā* of Lāhor were banished in 1579 he was made *Ṣadr* of Mālwa. He was afterwards imprisoned in Gwāliyār, where he died in A.D. 1602-03. Shaikh Kabīr himself died at Aḥmadābād in Gujarāt in A.D. 1617.

courtier. May the most Holy God (be He exalted!) grant him repentance for his indulgence in opium, his pride, and his lying and boasting. At the time when, in accordance with the imperial order, he accompanied his father to the *pargana* of Bajwāra[1] and the spurs of the northern mountains, and was employed in the administration of that district, he wrote a letter to me from which the degree of perfection to which he, as a man, had attained may be inferred. That letter was as follows :—

Poetry.

I had a heart by means of which I enjoyed life, but my heart
perished from me owing to the change which it suffered.

" May the attendants of that possessor of a sublime disposition, that resort of excellence, be in good health. Oh, my lord! The concerns of my heart and soul, that is to say the only true concerns of a man, are firmly established on the threshold of sincere affection; but my earthly body (may the dust of the world be on its head!) consorts with the birds and beasts of the wilderness of superfluity,[2] nay, by God! it consorts with a multitude from the sight of which the very birds and beasts could not choose but flee. Glory be to God! I know not where I may find a remedy. My vile spirit now knows what a blessing health is. From the time when I first came to years of discretion to this day, when I have reached my fortieth year, all my endeavours have been directed towards the companionship of the most spiritually-minded men, wherein I might seek a remedy for my spiritual imperfections and the diseases of my soul, and now zeal for the Supreme and jealous God (may His majesty be exalted!) having affected me has brought on me a sore affliction, which

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[1] There were two *parganas* of this name. One was in the Āgra *sarkār* of the *Ṣūba* of Agra (*Āīn*, ii, 182) and the other was in the Beth Jālandhar Dūāb *sarkār* of the *ṣūba* of Lāhor (*Āīn*, ii, 316). The latter is the town mentioned here. It is now a town in the District and *taḥṣīl* of Hoshiyārpūr in the Panjāb. *Vide* '*Imperial Gazetteer of India*' (new series), vi, 220.

[2] كثرت The writer perhaps means the wilderness of the vulgar crowd.

none but He can cure. Cheerfulness,[1] contentment, and the quiet enjoyment of health have all been snatched from me. You, O Maulavī, will surely have experienced the magnanimous and affectionate solicitude of the Nawwāb Fayyāẓī,[2] that most learned and most wise man, unique in this age (may God enrich us from his perfection, and may He bestow on us the profitable honour of
108 his discourse !), and you must have recognized it as one of the greatest of the Lord's benefits, and have returned thanks for this great gift. At the time when prayers are answered put up a petition for the needs of your slave. Salutations to you. May the attendants of the sympathetic Miyān Aḥmad, the marvel of the age, be in good health, and believe me to be desirous of reunion."

XXVIII. SHAIKH SA'DU-'LLĀH, THE GRAMMARIAN.[3]

Biyāna[4] is one of the districts in the eastern portion of India. The Shaikh from his childhood was in the service of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauṣ,[5] and passed his time with him in fasts of forty days[6] and in exorcism, and subsequently himself continued these practices. He built a hospice in the district of Biyāna and was for many years resorted to by students and followers of the religious life. He employed himself in the instruction and spiritual guidance of such men. In knowledge of syntax he had no equal in his time. For seventy years he never broke his fast save on milk, green vegetables,[1] and wild fruits. His liberality was profuse and open-handed. In the reign of Salīm Shāh[2] I went, in company with my maternal grandfather, to pay my respects to the Shaikh and took some lessons in the *Kāfiyyah*[3] from him. At last the Shaikh, withdrawing himself from all worldly concerns was overcome by stupor. He secluded himself alone in a room and would not admit even his sons to his presence, until in the year H. 989 (A.D. 1581) he departed from this world. He is buried in the hospice which he built. On the day of his death a sparrow fell down from the air on to the head of the corpse, and this was a matter of wonder to all who beheld it.

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[1] صفای وقت in both MSS. The text has شفای وقت 'remedy for my days.' I have followed the MSS.

[2] The poet Shaikh Abū-l-Faiẓ Faiẓī, Fayyāẓī, elder brother of Shaikh Abū-l-Faẓl. *Vide infra* chap. iv, No. cvii.

[3] *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 545, where he is called 'Maulānā Sa'du-'llāh.'

[4] Then a *pargana* town in the *sarkār* and *sūba* of Āgra (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*, ii, 182), now the headquarters of a *taḥṣīl* in the Bharatpūr State in Eastern Rajputana (*Imperial Gazetteer of India* (new series), vii, 637, *s.v.* Bayāna). In the *Āīn* (ii, 180) Biyāna, which is a very ancient city, is mentioned as having been formerly the capital of a province of which Āgra was a dependent village.

[5] *Vide* p. 6.

[6] باربعینات MS. (A) has باز تعینات by transposition of dots. The reading of the text and MS. (B) is correct.

XXIX. Shaikh Naṣīru-'d-dīn.

He was a native of Hindaun,[4] and had the reputation of being skilled in alchemy. It is said that the Shaikh was constantly in attendance on the emperor Humāyūn, who has obtained forgiveness of his sins, both in court and in camp, and that when the emperor arrived at Āgra after being defeated at Jausā[5] the 109
Shaikh said,[6] "Something will be required for the maintenance of a fresh army," and accordingly collected all the copper pots, dishes, and other vessels which could be found and, in the late emperor's presence, converted them into pure gold. This matter was noised abroad, but when I inquired into the truth of it from

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[1] كياه; literally 'grass.'

[2] Son and successor of Farīdu-d-dīn Shīr Shāh, reigned A.D. 1545—1552.

[3] A famous work on Arabic grammar, *vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, 428 and note 6

[4] Then a *pargana* town in the *sarkār* and *ṣūba* of Āgra (*Āīn-i-Akbari*, ii. 183). Now the headquarters of a *taḥsil* and *niẓāmat* of the same name in the State of Jaipūr in Eastern Rājputāna. *Vide Imperial Gazetteer of India*, new series, xiii, 135.

[5] Where Humāyūn was defeated by Shīr Shāh in A.H. 946 (A.D. 1539). *Vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 460.

[6] شيخ فرمودند. Both MSS. have بشيخ فرمود 'he said to the Shaikh.' In spite of the authority of the MSS. the context shows the reading of the text to be correct.

his sons, with whom I am connected by marriage, they told me that a *darvīsh* of great attainments[1] had given their father a basket, full of the ingredients necessary for the transmutation of the baser metals, and that to whatever copper this was applied the alchemist's object was attained, but that after their father had once mixed these ingredients with the copper he had no further power of manufacturing gold, as he was unacquainted with the science of alchemy,—but God knows the truth!

I saw the *Shaikh* in Āgra in the days when Bairam Khān was in power in the house of Sayyid Shāh Mīr,[2] the nephew of Mīr Sayyid Rafī'u-'d-dīn the traditionist. He was an old man of enlightened appearance and of a good disposition. He died in those days, and is buried in Hindaun.

XXX. SHAIKH MUBĀRAK OF ALWAR.[3]

Salīm Shāh used to call him Shāh Mubārak, and used to place his shoes before his feet. The *Shaikh* generally claimed to be a *Sayyid*, and was in great repute among the Afghāns. Thus when their power was on the wane and they were fleeing before the Mughuls some of the Afghāns seized Shaikh Islām[4] of Fatḥpūr suspecting him of being a wealthy man, and, having confined him in a strange manner, carried him off to the fort of Rantambhor. Shaikh Mubārak went thither from Alwar by way of Basāwar, and was the means of Shaikh Islīm's[4] liberation.

Shaikh Mubārak twice attained the honour of performing a pilgrimage to the glorious *ka'bah*.

I was sixteen years of age at that time when, in company with my venerated father, I paid my respects to the Shaikh in Basāwār, and after that, in the year H. 987 (A.D. 1579), when the
110 emperor was returning from his pilgrimage to Ajmīr at which

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[1] کامل العیاری The expression might also be rendered, 'full of knavery.'

[2] *Vide infra* No. xxxviii.

[3] Then the headquarters of *sarkār* of the same name in the *ṣūba* of Āgra. Now the capital of the Alwar State in Eastern Rājputāna.

[4] *Scil.* Shaikh Salīm-i-Cishtī, of Fatḥpūr Sīkrī. He is sometimes called 'Shaikh Islām,' and, by *imālah*, 'Shaikh Islīm (Islem).'

the whole of the *Qur'ān* was read, and was journeying to Fatḥpūr by way of Alwar, I was again honoured by an interview with the *Shaikh*. He had, in truth, reached perfection and was most liberal and open-handed. It is now[1] reported that he has recently, at the age of ninety years, bidden farewell to this transitory world.

XXXI. SHAIKH CĀYAN LADH OF SOHNA.

(Ladh) Sohna[2] is a *pargana* town of Mewāt, eighteen *kurūh*[3] distant from Dihlī. There is there a hot spring, rising from a mine of sulphur. The water is green in colour and smells of sulphur. Even in the winter time the water is so hot that it is impossible to bear it on the body. Bathing at that spring is a remedy for scald-head and itch. The smell and colour of the water are clear proof that it springs from sulphur. On summer nights, too, small flashes of fire may be seen on the hills surrounding the town, though nobody kindle a fire there.

The *Shaikh* was one of the most famous successors of Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-'Azīz of Dihlī[4] and travelled resolutely in the path of poverty. He used to give instruction in *Ṣūfī*-istic books, such as the *Fuṣūṣ*[5] and the *Naqd-i-fuṣūṣ*,[6] to his pupils, who were seekers after the truth. The emperor, towards the end of the *Shaikh*'s life, placed great confidence in him and sought the help of his auspices in several important matters of state. He appointed quarters for him in the *'ibādatkhāna* close to the imperial palace and used to admit him to private interviews at night, and the inverted prayers of the recitation of which the emperor was a witness became inverted in their effects.[1]

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[1] A.H. 1004 (A.D. 1595-96).

[2] Then in the Rewārī *sarkār* of the *ṣūba* of Dihlī (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*, ii, 293, where it is called *Suhnah*). Now a town in the District and *taḥṣīl* of Gurgaon, Panjāb. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, new series, xiii, 72). The text has 'Ladh Suhnī,' and the MSS. 'Ladh Sehnī.' Neither MS. prefixes 'Ladh' to 'Sohna' in the account of the Shaikh's life.

[3] In reality about twenty-five miles.

[4] *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 538.

[5] *Vide* p. 17 and note 8.

[6] 'The coin of the *Fuṣūṣ*.' Probably the commentary on the *Fuṣūṣu-l-Ḥikam* mentioned on p. 17. Both MSS. read نصوص (*nuṣūṣ*) for فصوص, the meaning of the book's title being, according to them, 'The coin of demonstrations.

In the year H. 998 [2] (A.D. 1590) when the *Shaikh* fell sick of the complaint of which he died he sent for the worthy son of Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-'Azīz Quṭb-i-'Ālam, who was then employed in the army, from Dihlī, and, placing before him the patched robe, the staff, and the other insignia of *Shaikh*-dom, said to him, "These were a trust which I received from your venerable father. You are more worthy of them than I." He then set out on his journey to the next world. The words "the truth of poverty" [3] were found to give the date of his death.

Shaikh Quṭb-i-'Ālam, guided by God's grace, retired from the
111 imperial service, and, obeying the call to follow in his venerable father's footsteps, guided his life thereby. He is settled in Dihlī, and is employed, by the emperor's order, in the guardianship of the footprint of his holiness the resort of apostleship [4] (the blessing and peace of God be upon him!), rendering service to all who visit it. If it please God, who is honoured, he will be endowed with the noble qualities of his honoured father.

XXXII. SHAIKH 'ABDU-'L-GHANĪ OF BADĀON.

He [5] also is one of the successors of Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-'Azīz. In asceticism [6] he has no equal in these days, and in seeking solitude, he is the "Shibli[1] of the age. At the beginning of his career, when he was a student in Badāon, he used to be overcome by religious ecstasy, and sometimes even in the midst of his studies on hearing the chanting of a mystical song he would remain insensible for a whole watch of the day, more or less. When his intimate friends asked him what he had seen to bring this ecstatic trance upon him he would reply, "I know nothing of it."

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[1] *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 286. Shaikh Cāyan Ladh (there called Shaikh Cānīlda, or 'Shaikh Jānīlda') ventured to prophesy that one of the ladies of the imperial *ḥaram* would bear a son. She bore a daughter, and the Shaikh was somewhat discredited.

[2] The text, while giving the correct date in words, gives it in figures, wrongly, as 989. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 373. The Shaikh is there called Shaikh Jānīladh' with 'Shaikh Cāyanladīna' as a variant.

[3] حقیقت فقر This chronogram, which gives the date 998, is quoted in vol. ii, text, p. 374, also.

[4] A large stone bearing a footprint said to be that of Muḥammad, brought from Makkah by Shāh Abū Turāb in A.D. 1582. *Vide* vol. ii, p. 310.

[5] MS. (A) gives the Shaikh's name here.

[6] The text has ترک این here. Some word has apparently been omitted.

In consequence of the responsibilities which he incurred by his marriage, which is[2] a pitfall for enlightened seekers after knowledge,—

Couplet.

Who are the robbers whom we encounter on our road to
God?
Those robbers are no other than women—

he came to Dihlī in search of a livelihood, and there entered the service of Tatār Khān,[3] the governor of the city, who, though clad in the habiliments of the great ones of the earth, was one of the godly. The Shaikh attached himself as a disciple to Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-'Aziz, and under him he studied all those books which are generally current and are included in the ordinary curriculum. He then spent several years in teaching, and was then suddenly drawn mysteriously by God's grace, and, abandoning all his occupations, he joined the circle of ascetic *darvīshes* in the Shaikh's hospice, and employed himself in striving in the path of holiness and in self-mortification. After attaining perfection he left human habitations and took up his dwelling near **112** the footprint of his holiness the resort of apostleship (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him!), in a *masjid* known as

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but the MSS. give no help. The meaning of the passage is, however, clear.

[1] A famous Muḥammadan saint. *Vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 59 and note 1.

[2] میگردد MS. (A) has میگیرد which is equally good and MS. (B) میکرد which is wrong.

[3] *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 424. Tātār Khān died at Dihlī in A.H. 986 (A.D. 1578-79) or, according to the *Tabaqāt*, in A.H. 985 (A.D. 1577-78).

the *masjid* of Khān-i-Jahān. There he dwells in religious seclusion, and, in spite of his having a large family, he follows a religious rule, with a firm trust in God. He had not taken one step from the corner of retirement when in the year H. 1003 (A.D. 1594-95) the Khān-i-Khānān[1] waited upon him, and asked him for his advice. He said, "Deem the following of the holy law[2] of Muḥammad (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him!) to be of the first importance." At the time when this hastily compiled history was written Aḥmad-i-Ṣūfiyak[3] and Ḥisāmak[4] of Banāras, men newly converted to Islām, who in the religious strife of these latter days are branded with the mark of eternal execration—

Masnawī.

Stand aloof from the *Sūfīs* of the city and the country,
All of them are unmanly wretches, devourers of men.
Whatever one gives to them that they devour,
Whatever lies in their power that they do.
They have no occupation but sleeping and eating,
They take no thought on the day on which they shall die—

for the purpose of averting from themselves their evil reputation and concealing their gross immorality, formed the design of despatching a *farmān* summoning from Dihlī to Lāhōr Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Ghanī with one or two of his surviving children, whose names will be mentioned hereafter, for the purpose of urging him to submit to the new orders,[5] which they themselves had most readily and cheerfully accepted. The *Shaikh* wrote a letter to me setting forth his helplessness and asking to be excused, and accordingly, after many representations, Aḥmad-i-Ṣūfiyak was appeased, and abandoned his design, and he caused a letter to be written and sent to the *Shaikh* excusing him from attending in obedience to the summons and asking forgiveness for what he had done. Please God, the matter will end satisfactorily.

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[1] Mīrzā 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm.

[2] سنت with شریعت as a variant.

[3] Aḥmad, the wretched little *Ṣūfī*. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 405.

[4] 'The wretched little Ḥisām.' Possibly Maulānā Ḥisāmu-d-din of Lāhor, who differed from the other '*ulamā* of Lāhor. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 538. The designation "of Banāras' may be given in contempt.

[5] *i.e.*, regarding the 'divine faith,' the manner of salutation at court, etc.

XXXIII. Shaikh Buhlūl of Dihlī.

He is very learned in the traditional sayings of the prophet. **113** Having associated much with men who are devoted to a life of poverty and self-effacement he has now, for some time past, recognized the delights of such a life, and, the grace of God helping him, has set himself to follow it for good, and has no longer any dealings with the worldly, but is busied in teaching and instructing his pupils.

XXXIV. Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Ḥaqq of Dihlī.

He has taken *Ḥaqqī* as his poetical name. He is a compendium of perfect qualities and a source of excellence. He gives instruction in all branches of knowledge, both in those in which the reasoning faculty is called into play and in those which depend on the memory. He has attained a high degree in *Ṣūfī*-ism, and among his works are the *History of Madīnah the Tranquil*, and a book on the modern *Shaikhs* of India, the date of the writing of which is given by the words *zikru-'l-Auliyā.*[1] From his earliest youth he has sought eagerly after God, and, on account of his long-standing friendship with them he was for some time the companion, in Fatḥpūr, of Shaikh Faiẓī and Mīrzā Niẓāmu-'d-dīn Aḥmad, and by means of them I also had the honour of being permitted to wait on him, and continually enjoyed the advantages of his society. When a change came over the spirit of the time and the men of the time, all of whom are corrupters of what is good and compounded of the abominations of their own natures, and it was no longer safe to trust the dispositions of one's friends, the companionship of such a one and such a one [1] became disagreeable to him, and, the grace of God influencing him, he was impelled to journey to the most noble *Ka'bah*, and he left Dihlī for Gujarāt, in the condition of one who is mysteriously attracted by God, and cut off from all worldly concerns. Thanks to the good offices and assistance of Mīrzā Niẕāmu-'d-dīn Aḥmad he there obtained a passage on a ship bound for the Ḥijāz, but, being hindered by physical difficulties, he was unable to reach Madīnah the Tranquil (on its inhabitants be peace and salutation!), and he spent some time in Makkah the glorious with Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Wahhāb of India, the follower of **114** Shaikh Raḥmatu-'llāh the traditionist (may the mercy of God be upon him!), who, having returned from the pilgrimage to Makkah with Ḥājī Begam,[2] came to Agra, where I drank some of the water of Zamzam [3] from his auspicious hands, and took some lessons from him in the traditional sayings of Muḥammad, by way of a good augury, and from him, Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Wahhāb, that is, he received permission to give instruction in the traditional sayings, and then returned to his well-loved native land. Here he cloaks his *Ṣūfī*-ism by giving instruction in those branches of knowledge which are included in the ordinary course of education. His aspirations are so high that he will not, if God the most High please, be ensnared on his heavenly way, and fail of attaining his object.

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[1] The chronogram gives the date A.H. 999 (A.D. 1590-91). I have not been able to find any mention elsewhere of Shaikh 'Abdu-l-Ḥaqq's works.

At the time when he returned from Makkah the glorious to Dihlī, and I, perplexed and troubled in pursuit of my object, was on my way to the imperial camp, I had the opportunity of paying my respects to him for a few minutes, and after I had arrived at Lāhōr I wrote him a letter. I place a copy of it on record by way of invoking a blessing and as a memento:—

"After expressing my subjection to you, and the obligations which I owe you, I would represent that the affairs of this disappointed exile are, so far as is compatible with exile and dis-

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[1] These expressions are evidently a subterfuge to avoid mentioning the names of the emperor and his favourites, such as Abū-l-Faẕl and Faiẕī.

[2] Daughter of the brother of Humāyūn's mother. She returned from the pilgrimage in A.D. 1574 and died in A.D. 1581. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 299.

[3] Hagar's well, at Makkah.

appointment, matter for thankfulness, and it is my hope that you too are constantly surrounded by God's protection. When you returned to Dihlī and honoured me for one delightful hour, that interview did nothing but excite my thirst and vehement desire for your society, and so much remained unsaid and unheard that I cannot express it. 'A year of companionship is but an hour'[1] as has been said, and I myself experienced the truth of the saying. Indeed, the same might be said even of lifelong companionship (between friends). They said, 'We have tarried for a day, or part of a day.'[2] This world does not allow us sufficient time for companionship, or the delights of the society of friends, if their friendship be true and its bonds strong: it may be that on the morrow, beyond the grave, we shall enjoy this companionship, 'seated face to face on thrones'[3] please God. To-day we must devote our efforts to strengthening the bonds and to directing 115
our aims aright. The time for true companionship will be the morrow, when presence and absence will be alike, and what we here call separation and union will be the same. May God (be He glorified and exalted!) grant to us some kind of affinity, even though it should be common to all, so that we may understand truly what sincerity really means. I pray you to keep your heart towards me, as mine is towards you. I have ascertained with the eye of certainty that the real meaning of affection and the true signification of friendship have implanted themselves in your nature, 'and praise be to God therefor.' May he increase them and not diminish them.' There was an honoured man, one of the dwellers in the two holy places, who used constantly to recite this prayer:—'O God! as Thou hast favoured so do Thou increase Thy favours, and as Thou hast increased them so do Thou continue them, and as Thou hast continued them, so do Thou bless them to us.' May God (be He glorified and exalted!)

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[1] سنة الوصال ساعة. Both MSS. and the text have, wrongly, سنة الوصال سنة

[2] قَالُوا لَبِثْنَا يَوْمًا أَو بَعْضَ يَوْمٍ *Qur'ān*, xviii, 18.

[3] عَلَى سُرُرٍ مُتَقَابِلِينَ *Qur'an*, xv, 46.

increase, continue, and bless to us the gift of true knowledge and love, by the dignity of the chief of the first and the last of men, Muḥammad, and his family, and his companions, all of them! If you should ever honour your friend with a kind letter I hope that you will also honour and delight me with whatever holy news you may have of his holiness the Shaikh, him to whom all men turn, and who is named Kalīmu-'llāh (may God bless and preserve him!), and that you will convey to his noble presence a few words from me, so that I may not disappear from his memory. Much as I wished to write something on this subject my pen refused its office. Nor was there any need that I should write anything, for when the time came for me to make my requests of the Mīrzā [1] I composed some verses on this subject, moreover I wrote plainly that there was no occasion for ceremony. I hope that you will be diligent in delivering that letter. Farewell."

Shaikh Faiẓī, after his return from the Dakan, following his old custom of ingeniously tormenting his friends, was very desirous of gathering them round him in order to increase the attractions of his social circle and to indulge in conversation with them and was constantly annoying and troubling them (to come to him).

Hemistich.

Our friend has this, and also that.

116 He sent several letters from Lāhor to express the strong desire which he had of summoning Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Ḥaqq to him. The Shaikh, however, was exceedingly vexed, and would not come, but sent letters containing excuses, and made his seclusion from the world his pretext for not coming. Shaikh Faiẓī then sent in reply the letter of which a copy appears below, and this is the last letter which he wrote, and what is written in it is written.

"My strong desire of seeing you, my spiritual friend, dear to the Lord (may He long preserve you!) was not of the nature of official or formal matters, that it should have been reduced to writing. At first I was not aware that you were sick at heart—

[1] Mīrzā Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad.

that heart which displays bounty—and it is probable that I may have expressed my desire (somewhat too strongly). After I became aware that you had closed this way of access I gave your wishes precedence over my own, and I trust that the odour (of this action) will be agreeable to you. My request now is that you should not give yourself over to melancholy in your place of retirement. Two or three days ago that choicest of saints, Miyān Shaikh Mūsā,[1] honoured my poor dwelling with a visit, and said that it was not improbable that you would be coming hither about this time. I pressed him to tell me what grounds he had for saying this, but he left the matter uncertain and undetermined. I swear by God, the Supreme Object of worship, that I gave him no hint of my own wishes, nor shall I do so.

Hemistich.

When the time comes for speech what need is there of a letter?

If you remain at home, it is light, and if you come it will be
light upon light. I swear by God that I have constrained myself
to forego this wish and that I have not of my own accord given any
intimation of my desire, nor shall I do so. I hope that you will
not vex yourself further regarding this matter. But if I had wings
I would sit daily on the roof of your chamber and would gather 117
the grains of your affectionate discourse, trilling forth the song
of my desire. What more shall I write? Your pearl-like[2] petitions
are few and far between. I pray you for God's sake close not the
road against the caravan of my secrets. If it is closed from your
side it shall not be from mine. Greetings. I send supplications
to the Alexander of the throne of holy poverty, Miyān Buhlūl.
In the past two days what is expressed in the following quatrain
has come to pass in a certain connection:—

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[1] Probably Shaikh Mūsā of Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, elder brother of Shaikh Salīm-i-Cishtī, but perhaps Shaikh Mūṣā of Lāhor (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 539) or Shaikh Mūsā, younger brother of Maulānā ʻAbdu-l-Qādir.

[2] در دانه either *durr-dāna* ʻ seed-pearls ʼ or *dardāna*, ʻ sympathetic,ʼ or, ʻ grief laden,ʼ

Quatrain.

"Faiẓī! Old age is upon thee, walk circumspectly,
Let each step that thou takest be such as may be approved.
Through spectacles of glass thou wilt perceive naught,
Tear a bit from thy heart and place it on thine eyes."

Glory be to God! That Shaikh Faiẓī has passed away and become a by-word, and as for these, the mention of whom is still among us for a few days, or rather for a few hours, who are they that we should waste time in addressing them where preparation is even now being made for our departure hence? All that remains to them is the wind of speech. How long shall we waste our time in measuring it?

Couplet.

It will not be long before no trace of us remains,
You have broken the flask and spilt the wine, there is no cupbearer (to replace it).

XXXV. MAULĀNĀ ILĀHDĀD[1] OF SULṬĀNPŪR.

He originally came from Banoda, a village in Sind. He was a pupil of Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk. He is distinguished for the nobility of his descent. Although he was formerly much puffed up with the pride of learning and youth he has now gained experience, and his former pride has been changed for poverty and humility. For some time he held the appointment of *Ṣadr* of the *Ṣūba* of the Panjāb[2] but has now for a long time past held that of *Qāẓī* of the new settlement of the Ilāhābād,[3] and remains in the imperial service, contenting himself with the small allowance which has been allotted to him in that city, and refraining from constantly visiting the houses of the worldly. He is endowed with probity and is zealous in devotion to God.

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[1] In vol. ii, text, p. 295, he is called Mullā Ilāhdād *Nabawī* of Sulṭānpur, and is said to be notorious for his evil disposition.

[2] According to vol. ii (*loc. cit.*), he was *ṣadr* of one of the Dūābs in the Panjāb, probably of the Jec Dūāb, between the Jihlam and the Cināb.

[3] Probably in 1583, *vide* vol. ii, text, p. 335.

XXXVI. Maulānā 'Uṣmān of Sāmāna.[1]

In those branches of knowledge which call for the exercise of the reasoning faculty he was a pupil of Ḥakīmu-l-Mulk,[2] and he acquired those which depend on the memory from other teachers. He is a capable and ready divine, and very liable to fits of religious ecstasy. He is now in attendance on the imperial court· His understanding is good. He is inclined to religious retirement, and most of his time is spent in devotion. He was employed for some years, by the interest of Qilij K͟hān,[3] in the administration of some *parganas* in the Dū-āb. He has now come to court and is ranked among the *manṣabdārs*.[4]

XXXVII. Ḥājī Sulṭān of Thānēsar.

He has acquired the honour of performing the pilgrimage to Makkah the glorious and Madinah the delectable. He is well-versed in those branches of learning which depend on the memory and was for a long time in the imperial service. He was employed for four years, alone and without any co-adjutor, on the translation of the *Mahābhārata*, which is known as the *Razm-nāma*,[5] and what was begun by Naqīb K͟hān was finished by him. On account of an accusation of the crime of cow-killing which was brought against him by the Hindus of that *pargana*[6] an order was issued for his banishment to Bhakkar, and the K͟hān-i-K͟hānān, who was in those days in charge of the *Ṣūba* (of Multān), treated him with great consideration and kindness, and applied ointment to the wounds of his soul. After that land had been completely subjugated the Khān-i-Khānān took Ḥājī Sulṭān with him thence, and promised to procure the reversal of the sentence of banishment which had been passed against him. Ḥājī Sulṭān returned secretly to his native place, and the Khān-i-Khānān, after conquering the province of Asīrgaṛh and Burhānpūr, prayed in one of his petitions for the reversal of the sentence against him. His request was granted, and Providence watched over the *Ḥājī's* affairs, so that the emperor privately ordered Shaikh Abū-l-Faẓl to appoint him *Karōrī* of Thānēsar and Karnāl,[1] so that he was freed from the fear that had beset him. He still holds the appointment of *Karōrī.*

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[1] Then a *pargana* town in the Sirhind *sarkār* of the *ṣūba* of Dilhī. Now a town in the Bhawānīgaṛh *taḥṣīl* and Karnagaṛh *nizāmat* of the Patiālā State, in the Panjāb. *Vide Imp. Gazetteer of India*, new series, xxii, 1.

[2] *Vide infra*, c. iii, no. i.

[3] *Vide* A. A., vol. i (trans. Blochmann), p. 354, also *infra*, c. iv, no. xiv.

[4] His name does not appear in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* among the *manṣabdārs*.

[5] *Vide* A. A., vol. i (trans. Blochmann, pp. 104, 105(or), also *Badāonī* II, 302 (text). Ḥājī Sulṭān seems to have translated two parts of the *Mahābhārata*, besides some portions of other parts omitted by the other translators, who were, besides the Ḥājī and Naqīb K͟hān, Badāonī himself, who was much disgusted with his task, and Faiẓī, the elder brother of Abū-'l-Faẓl.

[6] Thānesar.

119 *Poetry.*

"How many mysterious favours are bestowed by God,
The mystery of which is great to the intelligent[2] understanding!"

These events were, as one might say, comfort[3] after adversity. At the time when Ḥājī Sultān was translating the *Mahābhārata* one asked him what it was that he was writing. He replied, "I am translating what was well known ten thousand years ago into the modern tongue."

XXXVIII. SAYYID SHĀH MĪR OF SĀMĀNA.

He is a *Sayyid* of authentic descent, adorned with the excellence of learning and decked with the jewel of piety. His hand is drawn within the skirt of contentment, and he passes his time in instructing students, having his dwelling on the far side of the river at Agra, near to where the late Shaikh Bahā-'u-'d-dīn, the *Muftī*, used to live. Students and *Ṣūfīs* are gathered together in his hospice and profit by his companionship. He had one pupil, a one-eyed man named Maulānā Farīd, of whom it was said that, although [1] he had not studied deeply, as soon as a difficult question or subtle and obscure argument was propounded to him from any advanced [2] book whatsoever, he would at once call for pen and inkstand, and, having reduced it to writing, would solve it immediately, although he could not give the solution orally, or even read what he had himself written. Shaikh Ẓiyā'u-'llāh [3] and the whole of the *Ghauṣiyyah* order submitted themselves entirely to the authority of this (Farīd), so that their subjection to the Sayyid may be imagined. I have also heard that the same Farīd would in one night relate to Sayyid Shāh Mīr events that had just happened in the farthest parts of the world, east or west. Some attributed this power to the possession of a *jinn*, and others to other causes. In the year in which the emperor summoned Shaikh Ẓiyā'u-'llāh from Āgra with great favour and kindness and assigned a place to him in the '*Ibādat-khāna* on an occasion when there was a gathering of the *Shaikhs* and '*Ulamā*, I one night in private questioned the *Shaikh* concerning the matter of Farīd the scribe, and, after relating what was spread abroad concerning him, I said, "Are these things really so?" The *Shaikh* first of all enumerated his own fragmentary writings and the works of which he was the author, detailed his own accomplishments and acquirements, and gave me a full account of himself, and then said, "In spite of all these favours which God (may His Majesty be exalted!) has bestowed upon me I cannot call myself so much us a gleaner (in the field of knowledge) after Shaikh Farīd, and all that you have heard of him does not amount to one hundredth part of the truth. His dignity is above it all, and he has attained this great good fortune by means of sweeping the threshold of the holy Sayyid Shāh Mīr. Now I had seen Sayyid Shāh Mīr before this at Badāon, whither he had gone on business connected with his subsistence allowance. A copy of the *Mashāriqu-'l-Anwār* [1] was between us, and we had much learned discourse. He certainly had the meditative faculty strongly developed, a pleasant disposition, a ready understanding and a good stock of knowledge, but I did not find him such a prodigy as Shaikh Ẓiyā'u-'llāh and other men had represented. As for the rest, God the most High knows the truth. It may be that he purposely concealed his abilities from me, but indeed what need is there to suppose that he might not have displayed to others those abilities of the display of which [2] he allowed me to be disappointed?

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[1] Thānesar was a *pargana* in the Sirhind *sarkār* of the *ṣūba* of Dihlī, and Karnāl was a *pargana* in the *sarkār* and *ṣūba* of Dihlī. Karnāl is now the headquarters of a District in the Panjāb, and Thānesar is the headquarters of a *taḥṣīl* in the Karnāl District.

[2] The text has, wrongly, زكي for ذكي .

[3] The text has فرج but both MSS. have فرح. Whichever reading be adopted the meaning will be the same.

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[1] باآنکه MS. (B) has, wrongly, بانکه

[2] منتهیانه. This is the reading of the text. Both MSS. have مفتیانه "of or relating to one who is authorized to deliver a *fatwā*. The textual emendation appears to me to be correct, and I have accordingly adopted it.

[3] *Vide infra*, No. XL. Both MSS. wrongly insert the name as a headline here.

XXXIX.—SAYYID YĀSĪN.

He is one of the cousins of Sayyid Shāh Mīr. He studied most of the books usually current, and acquired all such knowledge as is included in the ordinary course of education under Miyān Vajihu-'d-dīn,[3] in Gujarāt, and also became his disciple in spiritual matters. He acquired the honour of performing the pilgrimage of Islām, and studied the traditions in the Ḥijāz, and there received authority to give instruction therein. Thence he returned to India, and spent some time in Lāhor in the company of wealthy and powerful men, who were concerned with the affairs of the state. He then broke off his companionship with these men, and lived in Sirhind, clad in the garb of *Shaikhs* and the raiment of those who follow a life of holy poverty, and for some time gave instruction there to his followers, who were clad in blue, and he also claimed to be a religious leader. Since he was ever desirous of going again to Gujarāt, and thence to the two holy places, he could not rest in the district of Sirhind, and went to Bangāl, where he is now travelling. It remains to be seen whither his destiny will lead him and in what land he will at last find the happiness of retirement.

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[1] A work on the *Aḥādīth*, or traditional sayings of Muḥammad.

[2] The text has, carelessly, ازنتیجه for ازآنتیجه. Both MSS. have the correct reading.

[3] *Vide supra*, p. 70.

XL.—SHAIKH ẒIYĀ'U-'LLĀH.

He is the successor of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauṣ.[1] Few of the *Shaikhs* of this age can be his equals in *Sūfī*-istic converse. In his assembly the talk was ever of "true knowledge," and nothing was spoken of save the contemplation of unity and the asceticism of the *Sūfīs*, but who knows what his private opinions may be,[2] or to what extent he will carry his claims? At the beginning of his career, when the report of him was spread abroad in all the surrounding country, I heard that the *Shaikh* had succeeded his father in the throne of holy poverty and religious leadership and that in some accomplishments[3] he excelled him, for instance, that he could explain the meaning of the *Qur'ān* in such a manner that there was no need of a commentary,[4] besides having committed the *Qur'ān* to memory, so that he had it on the tip of his tongue. Accordingly in the year H. 970 (A.D. 1562-63) I went to visit him in Āgra, and that without[5] the intervention of any person to introduce me and to act as a mentor, and in the character of one who was altogether free from ceremony and had been long disappointed of his object, a character to which I had accustomed myself. Indeed, in visiting holy men worldly means and the intervention of men interested in externals only are disturbing elements in the attainment of one's object. I made the usual salutation and I had a conversation with him face to face. The *Shaikh* himself, from the high consideration in which he was held, was probably a slave to those ceremonial observances dear to *Shaikhs'* sons, and my unceremonial manner of visiting him displeased him. Those who were present in his assembly said to me, "Where do you come from?" I said, "From Sahsarām."[1] When they asked me whether I had made any advance in the study of the sciences, I said that I had, at one time or another, studied a little of each one of them. Since Sahsawān is an inconsiderable town and at that time Qilīj Khan,[2] Caugān Begi, the disciple of the Shaikh's father, was *jāgirdār* of that place, I was of small account in his eyes, and he esteemed me lightly and began to jest with me and mock me, and made a sign to a jester who was present, prompting him to scare me and turn me out of my place, but I, becoming aware of these proceedings, the like of which I had often witnessed, pretended that I had noticed nothing and posed as an innocent fool. The jester then began his pranks, saying, "the odour of some sweet scent has reached my nostrils, and my brain is becoming disordered, let those who are present in the assembly have a care, lest I do some one a mischief." He then began to foam at the mouth and one of the *Shaikh's* companions, who posed as a *Ṣūfī*, asked me whether I had applied the scent to myself. I said, "Yes; but what is the matter?" He said, "This person whom you see in this state of unconsciousness was once bitten by a mad dog, and now, whenever he smells a sweet scent he falls to foaming at the mouth, howling like a dog, and tries to bite people. Have a care for yourself." Those who were present there began to flee and the Shaikh too, inaugurating this new custom, joined with them in setting himself knowingly to terrify me, and became the accomplice[3] of those devilish men. At that moment I said, "It is strange that men travel from distant lands to this exalted threshold in order to obtain the fulfilment of their desires when, as a matter of fact, one who has been bitten by a mad dog cannot find a remedy here." The *Shaikh* asked me whether I knew of a remedy, and, on my replying that I did, asked me what it was. I replied, "This man should be beaten on the head with shoes and clods, as *Shaikh* Sa'dī (may God have mercy upon him!) said:—

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[1] *Vide* p. 6.

[2] و بر باطن وی کسي اگاه نیست MS. (B) has بر باطن کسي کاه نیست which is nonsense.

[3] فضیلت. MS. (A) has فضیلتها.

[4] احتیاج تفسیري. MS. (A) has احتیاجي به تفسیري.

[5] بي وسیلهٔ. MS. (B) has به وسیلهٔ which is wrong.

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[1] Then a *pargana* town in the Ruhtās *sarkār* of the *ṣūba* of Bihār, now the headquarters of a subdivision in the Shāhābād District of Bengal. *Vide Imp. Gazetteer of India*, new series, xxii, 111. Shīr Shāh of Dihlī and his father, Hasan Shāh Sūr, are buried at Sahsarām.

[2] *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, 34, 354.

[3] The text has here, wrongly, مرانقت. The reading of the MSS. (موافقت) is correct.

HEMISTICH.

"The cure for a rabid dog is a clod!"

They were all astonished, and I continued, "The strange thing is," I said, "that *kulūkh* is also the name of a vegetable drug, which is a remedy for the bite of a dog." The *Shaikh* then became uneasy,[1] fearing that his jest had fallen flat, and said, "Come, let us go and busy ourselves with the study of the words of God and His prophet." Then, taking a copy of the glorious *Qur'ān* he proceeded to expound a verse from the chapter of "The Cow,"[2] and in doing so exercised the right of private judgment very freely.[3] His pupils, blockheads that they were, assented to every absurdity that he concocted, saying, "We believe it, we accept it!" I, since my heart was full (of indignation) said, "Perhaps this interpretation which is given by the *Shaikh* is to be found in the commentary." He replied, "I am speaking of the secondary meaning[4] of the text and what may be inferred from it,[5] and this is a common practice and by no means a peculiarity of my own." I said, "Taking this for granted, is your interpretation literal or the metaphorical meaning of the text?" He replied, "The metaphorical meaning." I replied, "Pray then explain the connection between the two interpretations," and led him on into an argument regarding the meanings of the text. He replied disconnectedly and glanced, in an agitated manner, in all directions. When I held him firmly to the point he lost his temper, and said, shutting up the *Qur'ān*, "I have not studied dialectics." I said, "You have presumed so far as to interpret a text of the *Qur'ān* in a manner unsupported by tradition, and it is necessary that the connection between the literal interpretation and (your) metaphorical interpretation should be investigated." He then turned the subject and began to ask me about myself. In the meantime I produced a portion of a commentary which I had written on the *Qaṣīdatu'l-Burdah*,[1] and called his attention to the expressions in the opening couplet of that *qaṣīdah* which had struck me. He praised my work, and himself also said something on the same subject, and our interview came to an end in that manner. This was all I saw of him until the time when I entered the imperial service, when the *Shaikh* in obedience to a summons from the Court came alone and helpless to the *'Ibādat-khāna*, where he took his place. It was on a Friday when the *Shaikh* with one or two of his intimate companions first entered the *'Ibadat-khāna* and Mīrzā Ghiyāṣu-'d-din 'Alī the theologian,[2] Mīrzā Ākh'und, and Mīrzā 'Alī Āṣaf Khān[3] had been ordered to examine the *Shaikh* thoroughly and to question him on his *Ṣūfī*-ism, in order to see what he would let fall. Āṣaf Khān introduced into the conversation the following quatrain from the *Liwā'iḥ*,[4]

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[1] ترشده is the reading of both MSS. and is correct. The editor of the text, apparently not understanding the idiom, has altered it to ترسیده.

[2] The second chapter of the *Qur'ān*.

[3] عندی عندیات گوناگون میگفت عندی means 'from me.' It is here expressively used as a substantive 'from me-ism,' 'invention.'

[4] تاویل The word signifies 'turning language from its obvious meaning.'

[5] اشارت 'a sign,' i.e. what the text indicates by implication.

> "If thoughts of the rose pass in thy heart, thou becomest a
> rose,
> If thoughts of the passionate nightingale pass, thou
> becomest a nightingale,
> Thou art only an atom, God is all,
> If thou accustom thyself to meditate on Him who is all in
> all, thou wilt become all."

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[1] *Vide* p. 4, note 1.

[2] Probably Naqīb Khān. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 447.

[3] Āṣaf Khān's name was Mirzā Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī also, and both MSS. insert his full name. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 433.

[4] The *Liwā'iḥ* is a mystical poem by the great poet Mullā 'Abdu-r-Raḥman-i-Jāmī.

He then asked, "How can God the most Holy be described as "all" or "the whole," since He is above being defined as a part or the whole?" The *Shaikh* who had undergone much tribulation before coming to Court, and whose pride, haughtiness and self-conceit were completely broken, since he had endured much trouble, was [1] very modest and indistinctly muttered a few words which nobody understood. At last I, growing bold, ventured to say, "Although the Maulavī Jāmī (may his tomb be sanctified!) has in this quatrain applied the expression "the whole" to God the most Holy and most High, yet he has in another quatrain spoken of Him as being divisible into parts, and far be that from the most High!

Quatrain.

"As for this love which is a part of the Indissoluble One (whom) we (love)
God forbid that it should be comprehended of our intelligence,
Happy will it be for us if there flash a ray from the light of certainty
Which will free us from the darkness of our doubts."

The meaning of these passages is that whatever can be conceived, whether it be the whole or a part, is nothing but God, and that besides Him there is no true existence. In short, since words fail to express the writer's meaning adequately he uses them in various senses, explaining (God's existence) sometimes as a whole and sometimes as (possessing) parts." I then adduced several propositions regarding the inherent unity of essence, a principle which had at that time become ingrained in me, and called upon the *Shaikh* to corroborate my arguments, and both **125**
the emperor and the *Shaikh* were well pleased with my discourse. About this time Shaikh Isma'il, the half-brother of the *Shaikh*, near whom I lived in the quarter of the Kh'āja-yi-Jahān in Fatḥpūr, and with whom I was on terms of intimate

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[1] The text has, wrongly, برد. Both MSS. have بود.

companionship, took me, in obedience to Shaikh Ẓiyā'u-'llāh's wish, to the '*Ibādatkhāna*, and there introduced me to him, and related to him the story of my meeting with him eleven years before, which he had heard from me. Shaikh Ẓiyā'u-'llāh was much perturbed and said that he did not remember that any such thing had happened. The *Shaikh*, although he pretends to refrain from company, which is really self-advertisement, now lives in Āgra, in outward appearance, like his father, one of the holy men, while on the contrary he spends his time in self-indulgence and idleness, clad in the raiment of men of rank, and retains his old habits, many strange utterances, calculated to deceive the vulgar, and delivered with apparent simplicity, being reported. I have not space to record them.

Mīr Abū'l-Ghaiṣ of Bukhārā [1] (may the mercy of God be upon him!) used to say, "Let him be what he may, with his devotee's raiment, his assemblies of those vowed to holy poverty, and his discourses on mysticism. We believe in him with our whole heart!"

In the year in which the Khān-i-Zamān was defeated [2] Shaikh Ẓiyā'u-'llāh accompanied the army to Ambeṭhī, and had an interview with his holiness Miyān Shaikh Niẓāmu-'d-dīn (may his tomb be sanctified!). When the Miyān was commenting on the blessed verse, "And therein shall they be given to drink of a cup of wine, mixed with the water of Zanjabīl, a fountain in paradise named Salsabīl," [3] Shaikh Ẓiyā'u-'llāh, with a view of displaying his ability, interrupted the discourse, and said, "There is a discrepancy between this verse and another verse of the *Qur'ān*." The *Miyān* was moved to anger and said, "Holy is God! The father dived in that (sea of doubt) and must now be feeling the utmost need of intercession, and the son here sets himself to prove discrepancies between the words of God (be He honoured and glorified!)"

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[1] *Vide infra*, No. XLI.

[2] A.D. 1567. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 100.

[3] ویسقون فیها کاسا کان مزاجها زنجبیلا عینا فیها تسمی سلسبیلا *Qu'rān* lxxvi, 17,

Hemistich. 126

Everything that is in the heart is not instruction!

XLI. Mīr Abū'l-Ghāis̤ of Bukhārā.

He was a high-minded man and a follower of the pure religion who had so acquired angelic qualities that they became, as it were, ingrafted in his noble nature. Though clad in the outward garb of wealth he possessed the inward attributes of holy poverty. From association with many of the great *Shaikhs* of his time he had profited much, and had inherited much of the customs of his noble ancestors. In good breeding, but especially in liberal disbursement of his substance,[1] in independence of character, good fellowship, and uprightness in his dealings, he was one of the noblest of God's works. He followed the ceremonial observances of the law and imitated the laudable qualities of the ancients and their successors so closely that he omitted not the observance of one tittle of the holy law.[2] Such were his endeavours to fulfil all the requirements of the law of the congregation[3] that even in the time of his mortal sickness, when he was suffering from a painful chronic disorder he did not omit the recital of the "*Allāhu Akbar*"[4] at the commencement of his prayers. The conversation in his assemblies consisted always of texts from the *Qur'ān*, traditional sayings of the prophet, and the words of holy men. He died in the year H. 995 (A.D. 1587),[5] and the words "The Mīr of laudable qualities"[6] were found to give the date of his death.

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[1] بذل و انفاق MS. (A) has, wrongly, بذل و اتفاق

[2] The text here has سرعی, evidently a misprint for شرعی, the reading of both MSS.

[3] سنت جماعت the law as interpreted by the *Sunnīs*.

[4] *Vide supra*, p. 36, n. 4.

[5] These words "He died * * 995" are omitted from the text, though they appear in both MSS.

[6] میر ستوده سیر 40 + 10 + 200 + 60 + 400 + 6 + 4 + 5 + 60 + 10 + 200 = 995.

XLII. MIYĀN KAMĀLU-D-DĪN ḤUSAIN OF SHĪRĀZ.

When the heart in calling loved ones to remembrance blossoms like the rose it is not becoming that the dust of vexation should reach or settle upon the hearts of friends even though the account of their lives be somewhat prolonged.

Miyān Kamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain is the worthy son of Maulānā Ḥasan of Shīrāz who at the time when Shāh Isma'īl was expelled from Shīrāz went to Makkah the glorious, and on his return thence came to Gujarāt in the reign of Sulṭān Sikandar Lōdī,[1] and, accompanying the caravan of Sayyid Rafī'u-d-dīn the traditionist,[2] and Mīyān Abū-'l-Fatḥ of Khurāsān, the father of Miyān Budh, he took up his residence in Agra. The famous and well-known Shaikh Zainu-d-dīn[3] praises him as follows:—

127 "My verse is of both reason and tradition, therefore I would
that it should be hearkened to
By him who combines the knowledge of sciences both of
reason and tradition, Maulānā Ḥasan."

Miyān Kamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain is an angel in the form of a man, whose laudable qualities and praiseworthy attributes are more than can be either written or related. The emperor, recognizing that he was distinguished for his greatness and loftiness (of mind), was exceedingly desirous that he should enter the imperial service. At last he abandoned everything, and contenting himself with a small grant of land for his subsistence found complete happiness in the exile of poverty and the honour of good faith, and spends his time in continual devotion. He lives, free from care, sometimes in Dihlī and sometimes in Agra. From earliest youth till old age he has walked unintermittently in the path of devotion, reciting the praises of God, giving alms, reciting set portions of the word of God, and reading the Qur'ān, knowing no other habit of life; but with all this excellence and perfection in religious matters he has the highest ability, and perfect eloquence, excellent penmanship, skill in orthography and a masterly style are his by inheritance.

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[1] Reigned from Dec. 1488 to Jan. 1517.

[2] *Vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 476, and note 5.

[3] Probably Shaikh Zainu-d-dīn *Vafā'ī*. *Vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 609, and note 5.

When I first came to Agra in my youth, in the time of Bairam K͟hān, the first place where I lodged was his *masjid*, where bounty was bestowed upon me, and his dwelling, where my soul was cherished, and there, in my opinion, the gates of happiness were first opened to me.

From that time till the time of writing this hasty memoir a period of full forty years has elapsed, during which time I have observed that his kindness, sympathy, and regard for my friendship have increased daily, although (I could) not (have believed that) there was room for any increase :—

Poetry.

Enough of love, for that grows less, enough of beauty, for
that decays.
But my love for thee and thy beauty remain undiminished
—nay, have increased.

What now follows is a few drops distilled from his musk-diffusing pen, now incorporated by me in this record of friendship. They are as follows :—

"In[1] the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! **128**
We bless his prophet, the gracious one, and love for thee
has not waned but its strength is increased towards
thee,

and my desire towards thee is as it is.

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[1] This is a letter from Kamālu-'d-dīn Ḥusain to Badāonī. The style is stilted and bombastic in the original and must necessarily appear more so in the translation, but as the substance of the letter is of no importance I have preferred to render it literally. As is usual in epistles of this nature, the writer refers both to himself and to the person whom he addresses in the third person, using in the latter case the plural of respect. As this plural cannot be used in English the continued use of the third person is apt to be confusing. I have, therefore, retained it in the exordium only, except where honorific titles appear in the body of the letter.

This atom of dust, inconsiderable and full of defects and blemishes, Kamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain, after conveying to you the greetings of an exile and the salutations of one who longs to see you, with the tongue of abridgment and brevity, of supplication and poverty, conveys to the enlightened mind, coruscating with benignity, namely, the mind of my worshipful master, the resort of clemency (may God save and preserve him and bestow on him all that pertains to matters both of religion and of the world !), the intelligence that since in these mournful days the hardships of loneliness and the grief of separation, the anxiety of religious duties and the absence of all traces of love and friendship have become my lot, I have sometimes in my restlessness travelled to the imperial city of Dihlī and have there acquired the honour of visiting the blessed tombs (of the Saints), and at other times have gone to Agra to see my friendless children (may God guard them with his power !) who dwell there in retirement, and I was much disturbed in mind, when those kind letters from my lord[1] began to arrive at irregular intervals. I swear by God that they conveyed very much consolation and comfort to my mournful heart, and for some days I took delight in studying and repeating them, and morning and evening I raised and still raise my hands in prayer to the All-Wise, praying Him to grant length of life to my lord[1] :—

Hemistich.

(I pray to) God that thou mayest live till the day of
resurrection.

But I will not dilate further on this subject, and will commit it to the care of the All-Wise God who knows the truth, and passing to my ulterior (outward) object, will bring it to your consideration,[2] informing you that for a long time I endured

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[1] The word used here is خُدّام, '(my lord's) servants.' The writer affects, as is usual in the language of oriental compliment, to be unworthy to mention the name of the person whom he addresses, and therefore speaks of his 'servants.' The best-known example of this idiom is the phrase بندگان عالي ('the exalted slaves') for 'his majesty,' or 'your majesty.'

[2] مصدع ميگردد, literally 'I become the means of giving you a headache.

great grief and sorrow from hearing of the death of that repository of humanity, inseparably connected with liberality, him who had acquired all perfections, Mīrzā Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, and from the passing away of all the excellence of that phoenix of the age and of his love and faithful affection for you, my lord.[1] "Verily we are God's, and to Him do we return!" What can
I say, and to whom can I confide these griefs, which assail me 129
incessantly and repeatedly? At all events we are awaiting our own death, and we have no resource but the favour of the bountiful God. My tongue is now ever chanting this prayer, "O God have mercy upon us, behold the sweat of our brows and the multitude of our groans! May the physician be disappointed of us, and may our friends weep for us! O God, have mercy upon us when the earth surrounds us, and our friends love us! Scatter Thy favours among us, and may the wind cease to blow upon us!" I hope that our end will be good and that we shall preserve our faith unblemished. Since the bearer of this letter was in great haste to depart I have written it hurriedly at night, and have not been able to explain one thousandth part of the desire which I have towards your service. You will be able to conceive it in your pure heart, for verily hearts have intercourse one with another. Salutations and honour be upon you and on him who is with you, both first and last, both inwardly and outwardly."

XLIII. SHAIKH ABŪ-'L-FATḤ OF THĀNĒSAR.

He is one of the foremost[2] among the wise men of the age and one of the chief among profound and eminent scholars. He acquired a thorough knowledge of Islamic tradition under Sayyid Rafī'u-d-dīn the traditionist, and has now dwelt for about fifty years in the quarter named after the above-mentioned *Mīr* in Agra, engaged in teaching those branches of knowledge which call for the exercise of the reasoning faculty as well as those which depend upon the memory. Many able and ready scholars have sat at his feet and have gone out into the world (with the fruits of his teaching). Both I and Miyān Kamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain, just mentioned, shared the benefits of being taught by this great man. His most noble and orthodox son, Shaikh 'Īsā, is now, by the emperor's appointment, the authorized deliverer of *fatwās*[1] in Agra.

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[1] *Vide* footnote 1 of p. 78.

[2] فحول. Literally 'males,' 'virile men.'

XLIV. MAULĀNĀ 'UṢMĀN OF BANGĀL.

130 He was an old *Shaikh* who took up his residence in Sambhal. Miyān Ḥātim of Sambhal[2] was his pupil, and used sometimes to visit him and request him to put up a *fātiḥah* on his behalf. On one occasion I, when I was in attendance on the late Miyān Ḥātim in my childhood, had the honour of waiting upon the Maulānā.

XLV. SHAIKH ḤUSAIN OF BAZHAR.[3]

He was one of the foremost among the distinguished men (of his day) and was employed in the instruction of students in the college of the imperial city of Dihlī. In those branches of knowledge which depend on the memory and which are usually studied in India, he was the most accomplished man of his time. He had a generous disposition.

XLVI. MAULĀNĀ ISMĀ'ĪL THE 'ARAB.[4]

He was one of the contemporaries and equals in age of Shaikh Ḥusain. In knowledge of mathematics, philosophy, and medicine he was unequalled, and as a teacher he was associated with Shaikh Ḥusain, and by the blessing of their noble companionship the doors of bounty were opened to students. The *Maulavī* was possessed of considerable wealth, and one night some thieves, instigated by the inhabitants of the city, broke into his house and murdered him.[5]

XLVII. QĀẒĪ MUBĀRAK OF GOPĀMAU.[6]

He was a most learned man and performed the duties of his office of *Qāẓī* with great integrity and honesty. He acquired his knowledge and good breeding from his teacher, Shaikh Niẓāmu-d-dīn of Ambēṭhī[1] (may his tomb be sanctified!), and the *Shaikh*, from the time when the *Miyān* first began to study in his hospice, had a special regard for him and bestowed care on his education, and whenever the *Qāẓī* used to make his request, saying, "Why should not I too receive my share from the reservoir of your saintship?" Shaikh Niẕāmu-d-dīn would always reply, "Qāẓī Mubārak has devoured this world and gained (his reward in) the next." The *Qāẓī* lived highly regarded, honoured, and respected **131** to the end of his life, and thus too took his departure to the next world.

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[1] *i.e. muftī.*

[2] *Vide* p. 3.

[3] Or Bazahr. I have not been able to identify this place.

[4] *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 538.

[5] Literally, 'caused him to attain martyrdom.'

[6] Then a *pargana* town in the Khairābād *sarkār* of the *ṣūba* of Awadh.

Among the sages and learned men who came and settled in Gopāmau for the purpose of studying under the *Qāẓī* (on him be God's mercy!), and there grew to manhood, so that for the sake of profiting by their society men came from great distances, and attained to perfection thereby, was the respected Budh, who used to give instruction in all the books commonly studied. Another was Sayyid Muḥīyy, of whom the same may be said, and there were others too in the same category. That caravan of sojourners has now reached its journey's end, leaving no successors, and the mansions and abodes of learning have now been cleared of the tigers of the forest of knowledge, so that those who, fox-like, are ever ready to creep into an earth, have taken their place. The author of the *Mashāriqu-'l-Anwār* too makes the same complaint of his own time, saying no sooner is the den clear of the lioness with two cubs than the gravid vixen enters it in the morning.

Verse.

This one small loaf[2] remains to poor Ḥasan,
I fear that day when not even this will be left.

XLVIII. Maūlānā Vais of Gwāliyār.

He was a learned man, argumentative and disputatious, and in his knowledge of first principles and deductions therefrom he had

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[1] *Vide* p. 27. Now a town in the District and *taḥṣīl* of Hardoi, in the U. P., *vide Imp. Gazetteer of India*, new series, xii, 830. For mention of Qāzī Mubārak, *vide supra*, p. 31.

[2] نانه, diminutive of نان.

no equal in his time. The power of his memory[1] was such that
in the midst of an argument when there was any necessity for an
appeal to any authority, he would seem to recite from memory
whole pages and would say, "This is what is written in such and
such a book, look it up and see," and would thus confute his
adversary, but afterwards, when the book was searched, no trace
of the pretended quotation would be found. In this manner he
one day confuted, in the imperial assembly, Maulānā Iliyās the
astrologer, who had been the tutor of the Emperor Muḥammad
Humāyūn, and had great skill and readiness in the preparation
of astronomical tables, so that the Maulānā, disgusted with his
opposition, set out from Court, and travelling through the *pargana*
of Mohān[2] in the *Sarkār* of Lakhnau, which was his *jāgīr*,
he gave up his military appointment in the imperial service, and
132 proceeded in haste to Gujarāt, and thence to Makkah the glorious,
and thence went to the land of 'Irāq and Āzarbāījān, and Ardabīl,
which was his well-loved native land, and there he died. The
story of his dealings with Shāh Ismāʻīl II is well known, and is
briefly as follows: When Maulānā Iliyās arrived at Ardabīl he
wrote a letter to Shāh Ismāʻīl, who had been confined by Shāh
Ṭahmāsp in the fortress of Qahqaha, saying, "From the aspects
of the planets I have ascertained that in such a month you will
obtain your freedom, and from the dungeon will attain to the
highest rank, and will sit on the throne of the kingdom. Just as
he had prophesied something was put into Shāh Ṭahmāsp's cup
after a short space of time, and the affairs of Irāq fell into great
confusion, and the *amīrs* and ministers of state summoned Shāh
Ismāʻīl from his prison, by way of Ardabīl, with a view of setting
him on the throne. Now the *maulavī* had said in his letter, "On
your way from Qahqaha, when you reach Ardabīl it is necessary
that you pay me a visit so that certain agreements and settlements
may be made between us in your presence, and certain rites

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[1] [*sic*] قوت حافظه. Badāoni should have said, 'his power of invention.'

[2] *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, ii, 179. Mohān is now a town in the *taḥṣīl* of the same name in the Unao District of the U. P., *vide Imp. Gazetteer of India*, new series, xvii, 383.

of exorcism may be performed while we are face to face." It so happened that Shāh Ismā'īl was in great haste and did not visit the *maulavī's* house, but after leaving Ardabīl he turned back and went to the *maulavī's* house with the object of waiting upon him. The *maulavī* shut the door of his mansion and refused to grant him an interview. After waiting a long time the king was compelled to break the door, and, entering the *maulavī's* room by force, waited upon him; but the *maulavī* covered his face, and, turning round, sat facing the wall, and said, "The appointed hour passed, and you did not come; why should I now see your face?" Shāh Ismā'īl turned away disappointed, and although he became king, the nobles of the realm, a year after he had ascended the throne, conspired to prompt his sister, Parījān Khānum, to attempt his life. He became cognizant of the plot, but before he could do anything to baffle it Parījān Khānum suffocated him and left his **133**
room, closing the door behind her on his corpse.

XLIX. SHAIKH MUḤAMMAD OF SYRIA.[1]

He is a true[2] 'Arab and is nephew to that Shaikh Zainu-d-dīn of Jabal-i-'Āmilī who was an ecclesiastical dignitary and religious guide among the *Shī'ahs*, and on whom the Sulṭān of Turkey after much finesse and many stratagems laid hands when he was in Makkah the glorious, and after summoning him to Constantinople, put him to death. Shaikh Muḥammad is ranked among the *manṣabdārs*, and is distinguished for his bravery and valour and noted for that generosity and liberality which are characteristic of the 'Arabs. He is also well known for his good breeding and courtesy and those branches of knowledge which are generally treated of in the Arabic language, and in the humanities generally his attainments are such that he may be called a second Kisā'ī.[3] The following letter, which he wrote in Lāhōr in answer to one from me, in which I had been guilty of some insolence, when our friendship first began, is an example of his correspondence.

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[1] Shaikh Muḥammad is not mentioned in the *Āīn* as a *manṣabdār*.

[2] قُحّ. The expression may also mean 'a rough, or brutal, Arab.' MS. (A) has فتح, wrongly.

[3] A celebrated grammarian and reader of the *Qur'ān*. *Vide* vol. i, trans., Ranking, p. 30, note 1.

[Here follow five letters in Arabic, of which the Editor of the Text writes in a footnote, "Be it known that the whole of the text of these five letters, from beginning to end, is full of errors, and I have found it impossible, notwithstanding the utmost care, to correct it from the three manuscripts at my disposal." After a careful examination of the text in MSS. (A) and (B) I am compelled to agree with the Editor. Professor T. W. Arnold, who has kindly come to my assistance, agrees with me that the text is so corrupt that no satisfactory translation of these letters can be given. He also agrees, however, that the text, unsatisfactory as it is, is sufficient to indicate that the letters are not worth translating and consist, almost entirely, of long strings of bombastic and extravagant compliments. For this reason I have refrained from an attempt to reconstruct the text from other MSS.—T. W. H.]

136 L. S̲HAIK̲H ḤASAN 'ALĪ OF MAUṢIL.[1]

He was the faithful pupil of S̲h̲āh Fatḥu-'llāh, but notwithstanding this he is an orthodox *Sunnī*. He entered the imperial service in the year in which Kābul was conquered, and was entrusted with the education of the emperor's eldest son until the young prince could repeat certain lessons from Persian and other treatises on philosophy. S̲h̲aik̲h̲ Abū'l-Faẓl also for some time secretly received instruction from him in the exact sciences, and in physics, and other branches of philosophy, but notwithstanding this he never attempted to advance the S̲h̲aik̲h̲'s interests, so that while he himself has his place on the carpet in the imperial presence his master takes his stand on the bare floor. S̲h̲aik̲h̲ Ḥasan 'Ali, finding that the conduct of such men was not in accord with his religious views, gave up the allowance which he used to receive and went to Gujarāt, where he associated himself for a time with Mīrzā Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad. The latter, and his son, Muḥammad Sharīf, received much profitable instruction from him in those branches of knowledge which exercise the reasoning faculty, and in secular learning, so much so indeed, that they advanced to perfection therein.

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[1] Mosul in the maps, on the Tigris, opposite to the site of Nineveh.

After the death of Shāh Fatḥu-'llāh Shaikh Abū-'l-Faẓl and other courtiers recounted some of the *Shaikh's* accomplishments **137**
and perfections in the imperial assembly, whereby the emperor was so impressed that Shaikh Ḥasan 'Alī is now (recognized as) the spiritual successor of Shāh Fatḥu-'llāh. At that time an imperial order was issued summoning Shaikh Ḥasan 'Alī to the imperial presence, and he accordingly came to Lāhōr, but when he paid his respects at Court Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad directed him to perform the *sijdah* (instead of the *kūrnish*),[1] which so displeased him that he made his release from the obligation of performing the ceremony a condition of his attendance, and even in his house he could not bear (to witness at Court) so many things which were abominations to him, and "the elephant once more remembered Hindustan"[2] and on the plea of an intention to visit his mother he obtained leave to go to his own country, and in the year H. 998 (A.D. 1589-90) he arrived at Thatha, when the Khān-i-Khānān was governor of that province, and having attained to trust in God and contentment of heart he set out for his own country, and when he arrived at Hurmuz he sent a message to the officers of the imperial court saying, "Praise be to God! I am freed from the hypocritical companionship of my friends." Please God he has attained the object of his desires.

LI. QĀẒĪ NŪRU-'LLĀH OF SHUSHTAR.[3]

Although he is by religion a *Shī'ah*[4] he is distinguished for his impartiality, justice, virtue, modesty, piety, continence, and such qualities as are possessed by noble men, and is well known for his learning, clemency, quickness of understanding, singleness of

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[1] *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 159.

[2] A proverb descriptive of home-sickness

[3] More properly Shūshtar. On the Kārūn river, in Persia.

[4] According to Mr. Blochmann (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 545), Qāẓī Nūru-'llāh

heart, clearness of perception, and acumen. He is the author of several able works, and he has written a monograph on the "undotted commentary"[1] of Shaikh Faiẓī which is beyond all praise. He also possesses the poetic faculty and writes impressive poetry. He was introduced to the emperor by the instrumentality of the physician Abū-'l-Fatḥ,[2] and when the victorious imperial army reached Lāhōr, and Shaikh Mu'in the *Qāẓī* of Lāhōr, when he was paying his respects to the emperor, was afflicted suddenly in the presence chamber with the falling sickness, which came upon him in consequence of the feebleness of old age, and the failure of his natural powers, the emperor took pity on his weakness, and said, "The *Shaikh* is past his work,
138 and we have therefore appointed Qāẓī Nūru-'llāh to the post which he held." In truth he has reduced the insolent *muftīs* and the crafty and subtle *muḥtasibs* of Lāhōr, who venture to give lessons to the teacher of the angels, to order, and has closed to them the avenues of bribery, and restrained them within due bounds as closely as a nut is enclosed in its shell, and to such a degree that stricter discipline could not be imagined. One might almost say that the author of the following verses had the *Qāẓī* in his mind when he wrote them :—

> "Thou art he who has never in all his life admitted
> Any statement by anybody in a law-suit, except the sworn
> testimony of a witness."

One day when he was in the house of Shaikh Faiẓī the Nishāpūrī commentary was the subject of discussion, and regarding the blessed verse :—"When he said to his companion, 'Be not cast down, verily God is with us,'"[3]—which verse is held, by the great majority of commentators, to refer to the greatest of

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practised *taqīya*, or concealment of his religious views, among *Sunnīs*, and was well acquainted with the system of jurisprudence of Abū Ḥanīfah. After Jahāngīr's accession he was recalled from Lāhor. Once he offended the emperor by a hasty word, and was executed.

[1] The *Sawāṭi'u-l-Ilhām*, *vide* *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 549.

[2] *Vide infra*, c. iii, no. viii.

[3] اذ يقول لصاحبه لا تحزن ان الله معنا *Qur'ān*, ix, 39.

faithful witnesses of the truth (Abū Bakr)—may God be graciously pleased with him!—he said, "If the signification of the companionship referred to in the text be trifling and unimportant then the expression cannot be understood as conveying praise of anybody, but if it be said that the word is used in the conventional sense which has been attributed to it by traditionists, we come back to the question under debate, and I deny that there was any companionship (in that sense)."[1] I replied, "If a mere child even who knew the Arabic language were asked he would say that this verse clearly involves praise (of the person referred to therein) and not blame, and an African infidel, or a Jew, or a Hindū who knew Arabic, would give the same reply." There was much controversy on the subject, and Shaikh Faiẓī after his usual vile custom took the side of the *Qāẓī*, though he actually had nothing whatever in common with either side. Suddenly a passage was turned up, in the Nishāpūrī commentary itself, which supported my contention, and even went beyond it, saying that the verse, supposing that the prophet (may God bless and preserve him!) had at that moment been summoned to the immediate presence of God, would have been authority for regarding Abū Bakr and no other as the successor nominated by the prophet himself.

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[1] The original is rather stilted, and is not easy to translate. The *Qāẓī*, arguing as a *Shī'ah*, contended that the word *Ṣāhib* ("companion") might be interpreted in two ways. It might be translated literally, without any ulterior signification, in which case its application to Abū Bakr could confer no honour upon him, for it would mean nothing more than that he chanced to be in the company of Muḥammad. The other signification, the technical or conventional meaning referred to by the *Qāẓī*, is the signification given by *Sunnī* traditionists to the word *Ṣāhib* when used in connection with the first three *Khalīfahs*, Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān. These three were, the traditionists argue, the chosen and constant companions of Muḥammad, whose object in admitting them to this intimate companionship was to draw attention to the fact that they had been selected as his spiritual successors, and to qualify them for the posts they were to fill after his death. The *Qāẓī* objects to the assumption that the word *Ṣāhib* bears this conventional meaning, as a *petitio principii*. Badāonī, as a Sunnī, argues that whatever may be the precise signification of the word *Ṣāhib*, the verse confers honour on Abū Bakr, and contends that anybody acquainted with Arabic and ignorant of theology would at once see that it did so.

39 LII. Ḥājī Ibrāhīm the Traditionist.

He lived in Āgra, leading an ascetic, abstemious, and pious life, and occupied in teaching divinity, and especially the traditions of the prophet. His strict observance of the holy law and his asceticism prevented him from mixing or associating with his fellow-men. He was in the habit of delivering authoritative commands and prohibitions in matters of faith. When, in obedience to a summons from Court, he attended the *'Ibādatkhāna*, he declined to observe the etiquette and ceremonies of the Court and used to preach and utter admonitions (without respect of persons). To Kh'āja 'Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad of Shīrāz, who, by reason of his habit of letting out for hire old cotton cloth for decorations, is known as Kh'āja 'Abdu-'llāh,[1] and is much occupied with ceremonial prayers and fasts, and with supererogatory prayers and outward devotions, and had great faith in the *Ḥājī*, he used to say, "*Kh'āja*, all these observances will profit you nothing until you give a place in your heart to love for the orthodox successors of the prophet."

LIII. Shaikh Jalāl-i-Wāṣil,[2] of Kālpī.[3]

He is one of the spiritual successors of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauṣ.[4] Early in his career he acquired perfection (in learning), but later he no longer allowed such matters to burden his memory and gave himself up wholly to the delight of listening to the chants of mystics, and to fits of religious ecstasy. His majesty the emperor has a very high opinion of him. On the whole there was less of striving after appearances among the spiritual successors of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauṣ than among those of Shaikh Salīm,[1] though each sect decried and sought to ruin the other; and now the words of 'Alī, the leader of the faithful (may God be graciously pleased with him!), which he spoke on hearing the blessed verse, "The Jews say, 'the Christians are grounded on nothing,' and the Christians say, 'the Jews are grounded on nothing!'"[2] are applicable to both parties. 'Alī said, on hearing this verse, "We believe it." Praise be to God, no trace of either sect remains.

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[1] I do not understand the applicability of this nickname.

[2] واصل. The word means 'united (with God).'

[3] Then the chief town of the *Sarkār* of the same name in the *Ṣūba* of Agra. Now the chief town of a *taḥṣīl* of the same name in the Jalaun District of the U.P. *Vide Imp. Gazetteer of India*, new series, xiv, 318.

[4] See p. 6.

LIV. MALIK MAḤMŪD-I-PIYĀRŪ. 140

He possessed such outward accomplishments as a knowledge of Arabic, Qurānic commentaries, the traditions, and miscellaneous Persian compositions in prose and poetry, and was also adorned with spiritual perfection in such matters as devotion, piety, a mystic longing for union with God,[3] and religious ecstasy. He was descended from the *maliks* of the land of Gujarāt, and his venerable father bore the name of Malik Piyārū. Malik Maḥmūd, owing to the elegance and copiousness of his discourse, his knowledge, and his ingenuity, was accorded the great honour of conversing with the *Khalīfah* of the age, in the heavenly assemblies held at Court, and ingratiated himself with his majesty, and owing to the great pleasure which he took in rendering any service to the godly, he was for some time favoured by being appointed to and associated with the glorious post of the trusteeship of the blessed tomb of that pole-star of saints who have become united with God, Kh'āja Mu'īnu-d-dīn-i-Sanjarī-yi-Cishtī (may God sanctify his tomb!). But notwithstanding all the favour which the emperor bestowed upon him and the faith which he had in him, and his nearness to the emperor's person, owing to the all-mastering love and overpowering desire and the strength of the mystic bonds by which he was bound to that pole-star of the heaven of chiefship and centre of the circle of happiness, the lord Shāh-i-'Ālam of Bukhārā, one of the sons of

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[1] See p. 18.

[2] و قالت اليهود ليست النصرى على شيء و قالت النصرى ليست اليهود على شيء *Qur'ān*, ii, 111.

[3] ذوق See p. 11, note 4.

Makhdūm-i-Jahānīān of Bukhārā[1] (may God sanctify his honoured tomb!), him who was the beloved of the possessors of true knowledge, and who was sought after by travellers in the right path, Malik Maḥmūd exerted all the influence and employed all the interest which he possessed in preferring his request that he might be permitted to depart from Court and undertake the guardianship of the holy man's tomb, employing himself in the circumambulation of its threshold, the dwelling-place of angels, and urged his request with an utter disregard of the emperor's wishes. Since he was thoroughly sincere in his intention and design, and was altogether free from any suspicion of hypocrisy or worldly designs, his prayer was naturally granted, but after much discussion and debate, and he retired to the corner of contentment and resignation, passing most of his blessed time in Aḥmadābād in the service of that shrine until he departed from its parterres to those of the abode of peace.

141 The author had the honour of being admitted to his joy-diffusing presence in Fatḥpūr and Ajmīr.

The following opening couplet of a *qaṣīdāh* is by the *Malik*:—

> "I have an ever-veering heart which nevertheless I call my *qibla-numā*,[2]
> Whithersoever I turn it, it still turns towards His eye-brow."

LV. ṢADR-I-JAHĀN,[3] OF PIHĀNĪ.

Pihānī is a village in the district of Qannauj.[4] Ṣadr-i-Jahān is a learned *Sayyid* of a happy disposition, most of whose life has been passed in the camp. He acquired his great learning under the tuition of Shaikh 'Abdu-'n-Nabī,[1] and it was in consequence of the *Shaikh's* exertions that he was appointed chief *muftī* of the empire, a post which he held for several years. After the religious leaders of India had fallen into disgrace, his habits of submission to authority and his time-serving and worldly disposition led him to regard before everything the honour and esteem which he enjoyed in the world. He accompanied the physician Humām[2] on his embassy to the ruler of Tūrān,[3] and when he returned thence he was honoured by being appointed *Ṣadr* of the empire. At the time when it was noised abroad in Lāhōr that those who remained of the '*Ulamā* were to be banished to Makkah the glorious, and a list of them had been prepared, the Ṣadr-i-Jahān said one day, "I fear lest I may have been included in this class." Mīrzā Niẕāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, who had prepared the list, said, "Why should you be sent to Makkah?" The *Ṣadr-i-Jahān* asked the Mīrzā, why he needed to ask the question, and the Mīrzā replied, "You have never given utterance to God's words, that you should be worthy of this banishment."

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[1] See vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 376.

[2] That which points to the *qibla*, or the direction in which to pray.

[3] See *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 468. *Ṣadr-i-Jahān* was both the Mīrān's personal name and the name of the office to which he was appointed in the 34th year. He was one of the signatories to the deed which acknowledged Akbar's spiritual supremacy as well as his temporal supremacy. His position with regard to the 'divine faith' is not clear, but he evidently temporized. During the reign of Jahāngīr, who was very fond of him, he was promoted to a command of four thousand, and received Qannauj as *tuyūl*. He died in A.D. 1611 at the age, it is believed, of 120 years. See also vol. ii, text, *passim*.

[4] According to the *Ma'āṣiru-l-Umarā* Pihānī is near Lakhnau, but from

The Ṣadr-i-Jahān, notwithstanding his poetic gifts and his great aptitude for writing poetry, now repents of his former devotion to the art. The following opening couplet of a *qaṣīdah* is by him :—

---

the fact that Ṣadr-i-Jahān received Qannauj as *tuyūl* in Jahāngīr's reign it would appear that Badāonī is right.

[1] *Vide supra*, no. x.

[2] *Vide infra*, Chap. iii, no. x.

[3] The object of this embassy was to answer a letter which 'Abdu-'llāh Khān Uzbak had written to Akbar, questioning him regarding his apostasy from Islām. The answer which they took to 'Abdu-'llāh contained the following Arabic verses :—

قيل ان الاله ذو ولد   قيل ان الرسول قد كهنا
ما نجا الله والرسول معا   من لسان الورى فكيف انا

"Of God it has been said that He had a Son; of the prophet it has been said that he was a sorcerer. Neither God nor the prophet has escaped the slander of men,—then how should I?"

"May each hair of my beloved's locks,
O God, become an affliction,
And may my heart be afflicted with each one of those
afflictions!"

I pray that, if it please God, he may be given grace to repent of foolish disputations on points of secular knowledge, of hypocrisy, ostentation, self-esteem, and extravagant boasting, which he must have learnt from one possessed of a devil, just as he has repented of writing poetry.

LVI. S̲HAIK̲H̲ YA'QŪB OF KAS̲H̲MĪR.[1]

He assumed as a poet the *nom-de-plume* of *Ṣarfī*, and in him were displayed both the accomplishments of learning and the perfect qualities which distinguish a pious man. He was the spiritual successor of the great master S̲haik̲h̲ Ḥusain of K̲h̲'ārazm (may God sanctify his tomb!), and acquired honour by performing the pilgrimage to the two most excellent holy places. He received from S̲haik̲h̲ Ibn-u Ḥajar a licence to give instruction in the traditions of Muḥammad, and clad in the robes of a *S̲haik̲h̲* he travelled much and visited most of the *S̲haik̲h̲s* of Arabia and Persia, and profited much by his intercourse with them, and received authority to assume the prerogatives of a religious teacher and spiritual guide, and as such he had many disciples, both in Hindūstān and Kas̲h̲mīr. He was the superior of an hospice. He was the author of some sublime and beautiful works, and completed a *K̲h̲amsah*,[1] and wrote many treatises on the art of composing enigmas, and also quatrains on the mysticism of the *Ṣūfīs*, with a commentary. His works, indeed, are too numerous to be recapitulated, and had it not been necessary that some slight mention should be made of his *Ṣūfī*-ism, and his mystic longing for God, even these few works could not have been noticed. He was illustrious and much relied upon as an authority in all branches of learning which are treated of in Arabic, such as Quranic commentaries, the traditions of Muḥammad, and *Ṣūfī*-ism, and he was an authorized religious leader.

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[1] A series of five *mas̤navīs*, in imitation of the *K̲h̲amsah* of Niẓāmī.

Latterly, not long before his death, he was writing a commentary which was one of the most wonderful productions of his perfect genius. Both the late emperor and his present majesty had a wonderful belief in him and conferred distinction on him by admitting him to the honour of their society, regarding him with gracious favour, so that he was held in high estimation and much honoured. He was generous and open-handed beyond anything that can be imagined of his contemporaries.

Although his poetry was very poor, in accordance with the verse :—" Poetry does not become the learned," he used nevertheless, continually to exercise his intellect in this direction. These following few couplets are by him :—

Couplets.[1]

" I see that comely face manifest in whatever I regard, **143**
" Though I look at a hundred thousand mirrors in all that one face is manifest.
" On all sides people are wandering in search of the Friend,
" And the strange thing is that the Friend is manifest on every side."

Other couplets by the *S͟haik͟h* are these :—

" Thy mole lurks near the corner of thine eyebrow to deceive,
" Wherever a recluse, lurking in a corner, is to be found, deceit is in him."
" Break not my heart, Oh grief! and regard not whose that heart may be,
" The heart is indeed mine, but consider who dwelleth there."
" If thou sayest to him, " It behoves that Thy foot pass over my head,"
" (Remember that) thou shouldst at once forsake all thought of self."

This enigma on the name of S͟haidā is also by the *S͟haik͟h* :—

---

[1] The following verses are all mystical.

"My moon hath cast the veil from off her face,
"See, how she hath of set purpose turned day into night!"

At the time when he obtained permission to depart from Lāhor to his dearly loved native land, he wrote to me from the far side of the river Rāvī a letter, which I copy here as a fortunate relic.

"My helper and my mighty one! After laying before you the prayers and supplications of true friendship, I represent to your mind, brilliant as the sun, that the cause of your neglecting to observe, in respect of your sincere and true friend, one most excellent institution was probably the fact that, though the approved custom of travelling with a friend for a part of his journey is one of the requirements of the observance of setting
144 him on his way, you were not able at the present time to perform this office and therefore could not help but leave it undone. I hope, however, that you will not entirely efface the memory of me from the margin of your bounteous heart, and that you will adopt the graceful habit of remembering the absent. If you should have any need of Kashmīr paper for rough notes and drafts I hope that you will inform me of the fact, so that I may send you from Kashmīr the rough copy of my commentaries, the writing of which can be washed from the paper with water so completely that no trace of the ink will remain, as you yourself have seen. And now peace be with you and grace be upon you."

When he reached Kashmīr he sent me from there another letter, which was the last he wrote. I copy it here.

"In the presence of the bounteous Shaikh 'Abdu-l-Qādir, him who is removed beyond the need of praise, recommendation, or encomium, that is to say our lord and leader in learning, may this letter be opened.

Without a doubt Badāonī excels Dawwānī[1]
In all branches of learning,

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[1] Muhaqqiq-i-Dawwānī, the famous logician. His name in Persian script is دواني, while Badāonī is بداوني, which Shaikh Ya'qūb would, for the purposes of this conceit, metamorphose into بدواني by the transposition of two letters, thus converting it into Dawwānī with the addition of one letter (ب). The play upon the two names is somewhat clumsy.

Thus a proof of the superabundance of the signification of his
name,
Is that its very beginning appears to be redundant.

As to the suppliant letters which from time to time I send to you, although owing to their not being worthy of an answer I do not trouble your wonder-describing pen to write one, nevertheless the pen of sincere friendship cannot be restrained from running on in (its desire of) setting forth my submission to you. I hope that whenever you sit in the Nawwāb Fazīl Fayyāẓī's [1] apartment of fragrant grass,[2] on the floor with its matting cooler than the breezes of Kashmīr, in the midday heat of summer,[3] drinking the water which, though warm, has been cooled with ice, and listening to sublime talk and witty conversation, you will think on me, the captive of the hardships of disappointment."

Couplet.

"Ah! ye who meet in the cheerful assembly of union extend
a helping hand to the absent,
"For the hand of those who thus meet is never withheld
from the absent."

"I pray you to accept, on behalf of your most honoured, most
orthodox, and most glorious son, Shaikh Muḥīyyu-d-dīn Muh
mad, my humble submission. May God, the most H the
most High, assist him in the acquirement of all know caused
secular and spiritual, by the honour of him [4] w st place to
with the name of his sublime title (may e middle place
hallowed!). ,[2] astronomy, and

It is probable that, owing to you ntaries, the traditions,[3]
confidence, you may have heard subjects connected with the

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[1] The text has 'Fayyāẓī' o
Fayyāẓī.' الأخلاء يومئذ بع Qur'ān, c. xliii The text

[2] خسخانه, 'a house
muricatum). See

[3] تموز, the S *wuf*), the doctrines of the *Ṣūfīs*.
from MS. *dīth*), the sayings of Muḥammad.

[4] *i.* classification indicates Akbar's contempt for orthodoxy, and evi-
n much shocked Badāonī's prejudices.

Mīrān Sayyid Quṭbu-d-dīn, had to say with regard to his failure to answer my humble letter to him, but it behoves you rather to regard my essential claims upon you, for these claims are clearly to be preferred to the claim of mere neighbourhood; and likewise you should not place too much confidence in the display of affection which the worshipful Mīrān makes, for in the end it has no stability. God the most High knows the truth!

I have lost the rough copy of the verses which I wrote in the new Āṣafkhānī style, explaining what had not previously been clearly expressed. It is possible that you, my honoured friend, may have taken a copy from my rough draft, and, if so, I pray you to send me a copy of your copy. If you answer this letter it will be well. (I call to mind) God!"

Verses by the Author.[1]

"O thou, at the thought of whose face intimacy comes back
to me,
My desire cannot be borne on paper,
As the lofty mountain cannot be weighed in a balance,
And as the ocean cannot be measured by a water-gauge.

Why should I sing your praises? They are far beyond the pretensions of the bald style and the impotent rhetoric of me, 'Abdu-l-Qādir; and any attempt to comprise them therein would resemble the endeavour to imprison the sea in a jug."

let

"In

Poetry.

who is rem what shall I say of my blessings on you?
encomium, that devotion flies from me to the lote-tree of Paradise,
this letter be opened. s in his beak a list of my blessings on thee.
Without a doubt Badāon anything of my desire of seeing you
In all branches of learning,

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If any should ask me what rules of humanity and faithfulness I observe in so harshly reviling one who had so much goodwill for me and so much sincere friendship, and especially how it is that I, forgetful of the command, 'Mention not your dead but in connection with good,' have thus written of a man after his death, and have become one of those who disregard their obligations, I reply, 'All this is true, but what could I do?' The claims of the faith and the safeguarding of one's compact with God are above all other claims, and 'Love is God's and hatred is God's' is an established precept. Although I was for full forty years in the company of Faiẓī, yet after the gradual change in views, the corruption of his nature, and the disordering of his disposition and especially in his mortal sickness, our relations were changed, and as our association together became mere hypocrisy we were freed each of the other. All of us have our faces set towards that court where all disputes shall be decided. "On that day the intimate friends shall be enemies to one another, except the pious."[1]

Among the property left by Faiẓī were four thousand six hundred valuable bound books, all corrected, of which it might have been said with but little exaggeration that most of them were either in the handwriting of the authors or had been written in the authors' time. These became the property of the Emperor, and when they were presented before him he caused them to be catalogued in three sections, giving the first place to books of verse, medicine, astrology, and music; the middle place to works on philosophy, religious mysticism,[2] astronomy, and geometry; and the lowest place to commentaries, the traditions,[3] books on theology, and on all other subjects connected with the sacred law.[4]

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[1] الاخلاء يومئذ بعضهم لبعض عدو الا المتقين *Qur'ān*, c. xliii The text has المتقون.

[2] تصوف (*taṣawwuf*), the doctrines of the *Ṣūfīs*.

[3] حديث (*ḥadīth*), the sayings of Muḥammad.

[4] The classification indicates Akbar's contempt for orthodoxy, and evidently much shocked Badāonī's prejudices.

Faiẓī wrote a hundred and one books, the *Nal-u-Daman*[1] and others, which he used to reckon. When he was near death he wrote, at the earnest solicitation of some of his friends, some couplets in praise of the Prophet (may God bless and assoil him, and of his ascent,[2] and incorporated them in the *Nal-u-Daman.* The following couplets are taken from the conclusion of that work:—

"O King of Kings,[3] who seekest after wisdom,
Wealthy as the sea and glorious as the sky,
The world is a banquet linked with joy,
Thy reign is the wine, which stupefies the heavens;
I am the minstrel singing melodies drawn from the veins of my heart,[4]
My pen is the sounding organ.
If from this banquet, in which thy conversation is the cup-bearer,
I arise, my song will still remain.
The drinkers circulate the tale
That there is no[5] singer, and yet the assembly is full of song.

[1] The text is corrupt here, and reads as though there were a hundred and one books of the *Nal-u-Daman*, which was not the case. From other sources, e.g. the *Mir'ātu-l-'Ālam*, we know that Faiẓī was credited with the authorship of a hundred and one books in all. The *Nal-u-Daman* is the story of the loves of Nala, king of Nishada or Mālwa, and Damayanti, daughter of the king of Vidarbha, or Berar. Faiẓī's source of inspiration was the *Mahābhārata*, where the story is given at length.

[2] معراج (*mi'rāj*). According to the belief of Musalmāns Muḥammad was caught up one night from Jerusalem to heaven, his means of conveyance being *Buzāq*, an animal smaller than a mule and larger than an ass. While in heaven he held 90,000 conversations with God, but on his return found his bed yet warm. This belief was one of those selected for ridicule by Akbar and the followers of the 'divine faith,' *vide* text, vol. ii, p. 316. If Faiẓī's recantation were genuine it must be regarded as, in some sort, a triumph for orthodoxy.

[3] Akbar.

[4] Literally 'bloody melodies' (*pardahā-yi-khūnī*). I believe the meaning to be that which I have given.

[5] The text has, wrongly, نئی 'thou art not' (a singer). From the scansion it is clear that the simple negative (نه) is the correct reading.

To-day, with my honey-sweet music
I am Bārbud,[1] thou the Khusrav of the age.
Though I have polished my pen on the heavens
I am standing before thee on one leg.[2]
Look now on the arrangement of my mystical characters
And now on my long years spent in thy service.
This poem, which bears on its tongue the name of love
Takes thy name[3] to heaven.
I am the inebriating wine of true wisdom,
If I ferment no blame is mine.
I am the bell of thy caravan
And must surely be excused if I give forth sounds.
The reward of my handiwork is this (appreciative) eye,
Which I reckon among the gifts of God.
A hundred nightingales, drunk with love, have arisen, singing
That the rose of Persia has blossomed in India.
I have arrayed in splendour virgin thoughts
In the Ganja of my genius and the Dihlī of my mind.[4]
Before this, when my poems were all the current coin I had
Faiẓī was the name written on my signet;
Now that I am chastened by (spiritual) love
I am Fayyāẓī[5] of the ocean of superabundance.[6]
In thy reign, incomparable King,
Have I plucked from the bush of time the rose of good fortune.

[1] A celebrated musician at the court of Khusrav.

[2] The attitude, in India, of a supplicant, or penitent.

[3] طُغرا (*ṭughrā*), literally, 'thy royal sign manual.'

[4] The reference is to the two geart poets Niẓāmī of Ganja (in imitation of whose *Lailā-u-majnūn* this poem was written) and Amīr Khusrav of Dihlī. Faiẓī means to say that he has conceived poetical ideas which neither Niẓāmī nor Amīr Khusrav ever conceived.

[5] *Vide* p. 413, note 2.

[6] Mr. Blochmann (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 549) charitably supposes 'the Ocean of Superabundance' to mean 'God's love,' as, indeed, it may; but it is just as likely to signify Abkar's generosity, or spiritual gifts.

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The breeze of my genius has diffused the odour of roses over my banquet,
My cup has been filled to overflowing with the wine of delight;
I have sat laughing, like a cup of sparkling wine,
While the cupbearer, like the bottle, stood behind me
Drinking deeper draughts than either I or my good fortune,
My days have been good, but my means of spending them better.
My gardener has been happy, like thy reign,
For my basil plant has grown freely.
These four thousand jewels of pure water,[1]
Which I have stirred up with the water which is like fire,
Accept, for the lustre of the gems is all thine,
They were produced that they might be scattered round thy crown;
If I have scattered more than I have said
I have then reckoned my harvest without any deficiency.
From this ocean which, in its turmoil, rears its head to the highest heaven
Gems bubble forth on the crest of each wave.
Thus employed, in the art of arranging mystic sayings,
My speech has set itself to no mean employment.
Every pithy phrase with which my pen has charged itself
Has been brought by my heart from distant recesses.
My pen points out to me the road to inscrutable mysteries
Where a mountain of meaning best appears,
Hidden under phrases slight as a blade of grass.
This book is illuminated with my heart's blood.
Its allegories are filled to overflowing with true wisdom.
If its melodies be chanted in the mountains
Their sound will dance among the grains of flowing sand.[2]

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[1] *I.e.* the verses of the *Nal-u-Daman*.

[2] ریگ روان (*rīg-i-ravān*) commonly means quicksand. I take it to mean here the sands of mountain streams, as quicksands are not commonly found in the mountains.

I have woven from my swiftly travelling breath
Sacred threads for the Brahmans of the nine monasteries.
My thought, which stirs up mystic truths,
Is an ocean which produces gems from its waters.
This writing, which brings to the light the essence of all things,
Is but half the shadow of my pen.
Every truth contained in it is as water in the stream,
Every knotty saying is as the curl in lovely hair.
This poem is a pearl of which the price may be fixed
For it shows forth the felicity of both worlds;
This lovely idol from the workshop of Āẕar[1] received
Its adornment in the month of Āẕar,[2]
In the thirty-ninth year of the Imperial reign, 308
In the new Divine Era,[3]
When I reckoned up the years of the *Hijrī* era
I computed them to be a thousand and three *alifs*.[4]
This garden, which is full of thy perfume
Is but one rose of the plant of thy boundless wealth.
I have the prospect of the joy of another cup
In laying out four gardens more.[5]
If love thus consumes me entirely,
I shall make moonlight shine from my ashes.
The transparent glass of my heart is melted,
And I will give it, as a mirror, into the hands of the assembly.

---

[1] The father of Abraham, said by the Musalmāns to have been a sculptor of idols.

[2] The ninth month of the Persian solar year.

[3] The era instituted by Akbar, beginning with the first year of his reign (A.H. 963 = A.D. 1556). In this era the years were solar, and the old Persian solar months were used. The era was instituted in 1582; vide vol. ii, text, p. 306.

[4] *I.e.* A.H. 1003 (A.D. 1594-95), the numerical value of the letter *alif* being one. There is a play on the words الف (*alf*) 'a thousand,' and الف the letter *alif*.

[5] *Scil.* the *Markazu-l-Adwār*, the *Salaimān-u-Bilqīs*, the *Haft Kis͟hwar*, and the *Akbarnāma*.

The story-tellers of the market-place base their stories on their dreams;
But I have awoken from such stories.
This is the arena of those who have traversed the heavens
And in it valiant heroes are to be descried;
Scribes whose very breath breathes magic, with the points of their pens
Have completed the adornment of this epic.
I also, for the sake of making a name in the world,
Have with my skill in words made a talisman.
I melted down both my heart and my tongue
In displaying this picture to the world.
When my genius scattered its wit into pen,
The pen poured the water of life into the inkstand;
The Messiah saw musk in a moist bladder
And dried it with His breath.
Is this an inkstand filled with ambergris,
Or a censer emitting smoke of ambergris?
When this lofty dome (the sky) became my cradle
The year was 954 (A.D. 1547).[1]
Now that I have spent forty-nine years in this monastery
I have passed through the seventy-two sects (of Islām)
My meeting-place has been in the idol-temples of India,
The fire-temples of Persia have been in my heart.
With a hundred incantations and magical devices
Have I cleaned from the mirror of the king's heart the scum of rust.[2]
This day, among the great tribe of the ages
The sky beat the *naubat* for me on the roof;[3]

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[1] Faiẓī refers to his own birth in that year. *Vide* p. 411, n. 1. The next verse fixes the date of the completion of this poem.

[2] It is obvious that this 'conclusion' of the *Nal-u-Daman* does not consist of the couplets written in praise of the prophet and on his ascent, mentioned on p. 422. Here Faiẓī, after boasting of his electicism mentions with pride his part in weaning Akbar from orthodoxy. The whole extract consists of the glorification of Akbar and the poet, chiefly the latter.

[3] The *naubat* was the daily music played at stated hours over the gate houses of the emperor and some of the chief grandees.

Eloquence, that King who has been my surety,
Has enthroned himself on my tongue.
I have become both the equal of the *amīrs*
And the prince of poets.
In every direction I go, uttering my wise words,
The ranks of mystic significations bow the knee to me.
Since love entered into my mind 309
I have become the adorner of the diadem which is over the nine thrones of the heavens.
The valiant swordsmen of the kingdom of rhetoric,
The archers of the battle of pretensions,
When they cast their eyes on my forces,
Cast down their shields in the field before me.
My pen, on account of my great fame
Writes as my autograph, 'He who is mighty in speech';
'The pride of the philosophers' is the writing on my forehead.
'The greatest [1] of the poets' is the device on my seal.
The heavenly Key has opened
To my thoughts the door of mystic significations.
When my breath gave birth to this poem
Khiẓr [2] came, and bestowed on me his length of days.
If the door has been opened before me
My poems have also been endued with long life.
If I reckon up all that both worlds can give
I find it to be but dust from the stour [3] which I have raised.
This pen, which has traversed the whole of my poem,
Drives its splinters under the nails of bad penmanship.[4]
See now the drift of this book, which shall last for ever,
See boundless wisdom concealed in (boundless) love.

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[1] Literally, 'the seal,' *i.e.* the last and greatest.

[2] The guardian of the water of life.

[3] 'Dust in motion.' I know of no *English* word by which to translate غبار (*ghubār*) 'dust in motion' as opposed to گرد (*gard*) 'dust at rest.'

[4] Faiẓī here praises his penmanship. Driving splinters under the nails is a well-known torture. The meaning of the verse is that other penmen will be tortured by envy owing to the excellence of his handwriting.

Those who are not dumb before this splendour
Are men who are not admitted to the privy chamber of imagination.
As for him whose business is with words,
Let the age endow him with justice.
It is the practice of those of meagre wit
Ever to gibe at their contemporaries:
What of those who have fallen asleep, wrapped in the sheet of the earth?
Knowest thou what they said of the men of their time?
And those who shall obscure my light with smoke
Will I afflict in their eyes (with their smoke).[1]
Moreover, a time will come when I shall be no more,
And shall no longer be the nightingale of this garden;
Then those who struck a thorn into my rose
Shall sigh for sorrow over my shrine.
O thou who hast poured the lees of the draught into my pure wine
Pluck but a rose of the spring of justice,
Or else take my goods at my valuation;
Look to their worth and consider yourself fortunate in me.
In the morning, when I sing in this meadow
My melodies shed a hundred gardens of flowers.
I am humble as dust in the path of true appraisers
Who this day, despite the ungrateful,
310 When they opened this treasure from my stock.
Cast on it a glance which justly estimated it
And looked (with pity) on other unfortunates.
They, like the ocean, teemed with gems
And the diver who brought the gems to the surface delighted in their commendation.
Art is intensely jealous of love
For I have compounded this poem with love's magic.
This pen is the source of great wonder
That from a dry reed such moist sweetness should flow.

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[1] This verse may also mean, 'I will hold them excused, owing to (the badness of) their eyesight.

This breath of mine is a monument to love,
For it is vapour which arises from my inward fervour.
Fayyāẓī on this incantation of thine
How long wilt thou dilate ?
It is best that thou should'st bring thy tale to a close
Before thou becomest, thyself, no more than a tale.
O thou consumed with love restrain thy breath ;
Have done with love's tale, have done ! "

CVIII. Fārisī[1]

His name is Sharīf, and he is the son of Khwāja 'Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad the painter. He is a youth lately come to man's estate, and he is unrivalled in beauty of penmanship and in painting.

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[1] Muḥammad Sharif was the school companion of Sulṭān Salīm. who was much attached to him. When Salīm rebelled against his father Sharīf was sent to bring him to his senses, but only widened the breach. On Salīm's reconciliation with his father Sharīf had to flee to the hills and jungles, and was brought to the verge of starvation. On Salīm's accession to the throne Sharif at once joined him, and was appointed a commander of five thousand, and *vakil* and chief minister of state. In Akbar's reign Sharīf had been a commander of two hundred, and Salīm, when in rebellion, had appointed him commander of two thousand five hundred and governor of Bihār. Jahāngīr says of him (*Tūzuk*, p. 6), " By his coming my heart was much rejoiced for the nature of his services to me is such that I regard him as a brother, a son, a friend and a companion. As I had complete confidence in his sincerity, his intelligence, his wisdom, and his experience of business I appointed him *vakil* and chief minister of state, and conferred on him the exalted title of *Amīru-l-umarā*, than which no higher title is conferred on any servant of the state, and I honoured him with the title of Commander of Five Thousand, and the command of five thousand horse, though his rank was such that I was inclined to appoint him to a higher command. He, however, said at last that he would accept no higher command until he should have rendered some conspicuous service." Mr. Blochmann (*Āīn*, i, 5, 7) has mistranslated this passage. In 1607 (*Tūzuk*, p. 50) Sharīf fell sick, and Āṣaf Khan was appointed to officiate for him. On his recovery he was sent to the Dakan but was recalled as he could not agree with the Khānkhānān. He was sent again to the Dakan, and there died a natural death in November, 1612 (*Tūzuk*, p. 113).

Sharīf's father Abdu-s-Ṣamad was a Shīrāzī. He held command of 400 horse and received from Akbar the title of *Zarrīn-qalam* (' golden pen '). Vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 495, 5, 7.

It is well known that his father wrote in full, and in a good and legible hand, on one side of a poppy seed, the *Sūratu-l-Ikhlāṣ*,[1] and on the other side of it the argument of the chapter; and they say that his son, Sharīf, bored in one poppy seed eight small holes, and passed wires through them, and that he drew, on a grain of rice, a picture of an armed horseman, preceded by an outrider, and bearing all the things proper to a horseman such as a sword, a shield, a polo-stick, *et cetera.*

Sharīf has a pleasant nature. He has composed a *dīvān* and the following verses were selected by him from his works and given to me (for insertion in this work).

"They who wander by night in the grief of longing after thee cause me to weep,
For they travel over the road by the rays of that light of Thine.
311 Clemency is Thine, but I am all sin.
When Thou pardonest such a one as me all will sin."

"I sift the sparks of my lamentations in the sieve of respect
Lest, perchance, their harsh sound should strike thy ear."

"By the blessing of love I am at perfect peace with both worlds,
Do thou become my enemy and see with what friendliness I shall treat thee."

"The spacious field of my breast is so full of love
That, in spite of my earnest desire, there is no room for more."

"Prosperity is no assistance in our path
We have recognized the Friend in another form."

---

[1] Vide p. 322, note 2.

A Maṣnavī.

" I have a grief for which may all joys be sacrificed ;
May God guard my grief from the evil eye.
When my heart admitted the fire which burnt within me
Even resignation became a stranger to it."

" If she has taken my heart O God, carry to her nostrils
The odour of separation, which was mingled with my heart's blood."

" Why should I sing of my genius or boast of my intellect ?
The fact that I am generous[1] disproves my boast."

" O intellect, how long empty-handed in the market of love
Wilt thou ask the price of the goods and blush for what thou hast to offer in exchange ? "

A quatrain. 312

" I have a love which is my religion and my faith.
I have a pain which is chief over all my possessions.
Should love be parted from me it will die
Saying, 'Sharīf-i-Fārisī is my soul.' "

" To have in the breast beauty of the heart is such a wonder
That it is pointed out like the new moon, when it can only just be seen."

" The price of gratitude, that unsaleable commodity, has risen
Because no caravan arrives from the land of grief."

" Cast not away the heart which thou hast stolen,
Carry a treasure, although it may seem heavy."

" O zephyr, bear this message to love, 'Take courage, for we are gone,

---

[1] کرام (*Kirām*), the word is plural, but evidently refers to the speaker. کرّام (*Kurrām*) 'very generous' would fit the sense, but not the metre.

No more will the dust of thy street be turned into mire by
tears '."

"I am silent from jealousy, not from pride of love,
For no speech, save of thee, passes on my tongue."

CIX. QARĀRĪ OF GILĀN.[1]

He was the son of Mullā *ʻA*bdu-r- Razzāq, and full brother to Ḥakīm Abū-l-Fatḥ [2] and Ḥakīm Humām.[3] He had many accomplishments and virtues, among them being poetry, penmanship and studiousness, and he was endowed with the qualities of an inclination to holy poverty and humility.

When he first came to court the emperor ordered him to be put
313 on duty with his brothers, and, when the guard turned out to salute the emperor, as he did not know how to put on a sword he appeared in the midst disordered in his dress. Some of the young wits expressed their surprise at this, but he said, ' Soldiering does not suit men like me,' and told that story of the Amīr Tīmūr, *Ṣāhib Qirān*,[4] who, in one of his battles, drew up his army in a certain position, and ordered that the laden camels, and the

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[1] Qarārī is thus described in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (i, 586), ' His name is Nūru-d-dīn. He is a man of keen understanding and of lofty thoughts. A curious monomania seized him. He looked upon his elder brother, the doctor Abū-l-Fatḥ, as the personification of the world, and the doctor Humām as the man who represents the life to come, for which reason he kept aloof from them.' Abū-l-Faẓl is sarcastic at the expense of Nūru-d-dīn. Nūru-d-dīn accused his brother Abū-l-Fatḥ of intense worldliness, and described his other brother, Humām, as one who was religious for the sake of the pleasures of Paradise, while he himself was truly religious, loving God with no motive but love. In the *Ṭabaqāt* Qarārī is thus described : ' Qarārī of Gīlān is the brother of Hakīm Abū-l-Fatḥ. By the emperor's order he was transferred from service at court to Bengal, where he died.'

Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad came to India with his two brothers in A.D. 1575. According to the *Ātas͟hkada-yi-Āẓarī* he had been in the service of K͟hān Aḥmad K͟hān in Gīlān, and went, after the overthrow of Gīlān, to Qazvīn.

[2] Vide pp. 233, 234 and notes.

[3] Vide p. 234 and note.

[4] The great Tīmūr, Akbar's ancestor, called in English histories ' Tamerlane.' *Ṣāhib-Qirān*, his well-known title, means ' Lord of the (fortunate) conjunction,' and has reference to a conjunction of the planets at his birth.

footmen, and all beasts with their burdens should take up a position of safety behind the troops, and that the ladies should remain in rear of the army. At this moment the learned men[1] asked where their place should be, and Tīmūr replied, 'Behind the ladies.' When this story was repeated to Akbar as a rare piece of wit on the part of Qarārī he ordered that he should be sent to Bengal. He went thither, and there rendered up his soul to God[2] during the rebellion against Muẓaffar Khān's authority.[3] The following verses are productions of his genius :—

"What fear is there if the whole world should become lovers
of Lailā,
So long as Lailā's heart inclines only towards Majnūn ?"

"For the sake of my grief Heaven confers on me a nature
like that of the Friend[4]
If I make of my darkly-clad lot a mouthful of fire."

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[1] Literally, 'the lords of turbans,' a common expression for learned men who are distinguished by the turban as soldiers are by a helmet or military hat.

[2] حق (Ḥaqq) MS. (A) has بخازنان اجل (bi-Khāzinān-i-ajāll) 'to the treasurers of eternity.'

[3] Muẓaffar Khān, governor of Bengal, was slain by the rebels in A.D. 1579, 'and during those turmoils Ḥakīm Nūru-d dīn Qarārī passed from the world. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 282.

[4] خليل (Khalīl). Abraham, 'the Friend of God.' The reference is to the legend of Abraham's persecution. Abraham had broken the idols of the Chaldæans, or, according to the Jewish legend, the idols in his father's shop, and Namrūd (Nimrod) ordered him to be burnt. A large space was enclosed at Kūtha and filled with a vast quantity of wood which, being set on fire, burned so fiercely that none dared venture near it. Abraham was projected into the fire by means of an engine, but Gabriel was sent to his assistance, and the fire burnt only the cords which bound him, and became to him a sweet and odoriferous breeze while the pile became a pleasant meadow. Notwithstanding this the fire raged so furiously otherwise that about two thousand of the idolators were consumed by it. The legend resembles in many respects the account of the attempt to burn Ananias, Azarias and Misael, as given in the third chapter of the Book of Daniel in the Vulgate, but is supposed to have had its origin in the translation of the proper name 'Ur of the Chaldees,' the city whence Abraham was brought by God, the proper name meaning 'fire.'

"What accusation shall I make against Death? I have received an arrow from thy eye
Which would have killed me, even though I did not die for a hundred years."

* * *

"I am illumined, as a candle, by the fire of thy love,
I humbly burn, even in my tomb."

* * *

"An ocean of fire is raging from my burning heart.
Tell Noah to flee, for *my* flood sheds fire around."

* * *

"My grief is this, that however much I am persecuted by thee
314 The delight of being persecuted by thee leaves my heart before I have well experienced it."

* * *

"Of her cruelty all that I ask is more wounds for my wounded heart,
I am not solicitous for her favour; all I desire is her cruelty.
I am distracted by the pain of separation; O love, for ages
Have I desired to be distracted but for a moment by the delight of seeing thee!"

* * *

"God forbid that our hearts should be beyond the need of the sight of her,
For we are entirely guiltless, and she is beyond all need."

* * *

"I am rejoiced at the duration of our separation, for now I shall be able
To approach her and make advances as though I were a stranger."

A quatrain.

"If I be seethed in the caldron of God's wrath,
If I be placed in the flames of hell,
This will be better than that my sins should, of mere favour, be forgiven
While I am left to burn in the fire of shame."

A quatrain.

"If the love of my heart should find a buyer
I should do something that would reveal my true self.
I should so shake out my prayer-carpet of abstinence
That from each thread of it a hundred idolators' sacred threads would fall."

"If I drive from my heart regret for my union with thee
It will be better than that I should increase the regret of my heart by meeting with thee"[1]

CX. QAUSĪ[2] 315

He was in the service of the Khān-i-Kalān,[3] and was unequalled in these days for the carving of toothpicks, comb, and such articles. He once wrote the following couplet in a fair hand on the pointed end[4] of a toothpick.

"The affairs of Qausī have been thrown into confusion by the ringlets of his love;
His affairs are ever twisted in a hundred places like the ringlets of his love."

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[1] The poet apparently means to say that as the union must necessarily be transient he will do well to refrain from seeking to renew both it and his grief.

[2] This poet is mentioned neither in the *Āīn* nor in the *Ṭabaqāt*. His *takhallus* is not pointed in the text, nor in the Mss. If it is as I have written it, it signifies 'of, or relating to, a bow, the rainbow, or Sagittarins.' It may, however, be *Qūsī*, in which case it would signify 'of or relating to a cloister, cell, or monastery.'

[3] Elder brother of Ataga Khān. Vide p.308 and note 2.

[4] The text has حنجره خلالي (*ḥanjara khilālī*), an expression which has puzzled the editor. The true reading is, beyond a doubt, خنجرهٔ خلالي (*Khanjara-yi-khilālī*) with the meaning given by me.

CXI. Qaidī of Shīrār.[1]

He came from the glorious city of Makkah and at once entered the emperor's service and received an appointment near his person. One day before the court he said to the emperor, "Men are much harassed by this new regulation of the *dāgh-u-maḥallī*[2] which Your Majesty has invented,' and from that time forth he was debarred from court and never again girded his loins in service. For some time he wandered about in the Biyāna district as a *qalandar*[3] and then came to Fatḥpūr, where he suffered from haemorrhoids and hectic fever. A quack whom he consulted cut the veins of his fundament, and he died under the treatment. He was of an extremely cheerful disposition.

The following verses are by him:—

"The lover has much of the merchandise of complaints, it
  will be better
That he open not his pack until the market day of the
  resurrection."

"O thou who hast never wandered from thy place in my
  heart,
I marvel that thou should'st have found a place in the
  hearts of all!"

"Though I be dying and no other comes to bid her farewell,
Hasten, camel driver, for her litter departs!"

"What ointment of thy favour is there on my heart,
That melts not my soul more than all the brands of regret?"

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[1] Qaidī is thus described in the *Āīn* (i, 599), 'He spent some time in the acquisition of such sciences as are usually studied; but he thinks much of himself.' The following is the account given in the *Ṭabaqāt*, 'Mullā Qaidī of Shīrāz came from Makkah, entered the imperial service, and was honoured by many marks of favour. He died in Fatḥpūr Sīkrī. In the expedition to Kābul he shared the author's (Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad's) quarters.'

[2] Regulations by Akbar to prevent the grandees and officers from drawing pay for establishments which they did not keep up. They were not entirely new, but had seldom been strictly enforced and were much resented, as all interference with customary embezzlement is in the East. *Vide* text, ii. 190.

[3] A wandering *darvīsh* who has given up all worldly desires.

CXII. Qadrī.[1]

He had some poetical genius. The following couplet is his:—

"Love's madness gives me not so much grace that my soul
May know how it is to come forth and be laid as an offering at her feet."

CXIII. Qandī.[2]

He came from Transoxiana to Āgra in the time of Bairam K͟hān, and there studied. I have seen no poetry of his but the following ode:—

"The hermitage in which I follow my devotions is a corner of the wine-shop,
The ecstatic shriek[3] which I hear is the shout of the drunkards;
My patched robe of devotion and piety has been pawned for wine.
The gurgling of the wine flask is for me the murmur of prayer and praise.
Qandī was journeying, destitute, towards the temple of Makkah,
When a lovely being waylaid him and he turned aside to the idol-temple."

CXIV. Kāmī.

This is the poetical name of Mīr 'Alā-u-d-daulah,[4] the author of the *Tazkiratu-s͟h-S͟hu'arā* which is the source from which this treatise has been compiled. It is superfluous to describe him and to quote his poems here even if it were not the case that the author is a poor judge of poetry and is ill qualified to make selections. It is better that I should recount my own deficiencies than that I should leave it to be done by others. Most of the couplets which I have written in imitation of others will bear out what I say.

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[1] Qadrī is not mentioned as a poet either in the *Āīn* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

[2] Qandī is not mentioned in the *Āīn*, nor in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

[3] One of the performances of the *Ṣūfīs* in their 'worship.' *Vide* p. 92.

[4] Vide p. 239 and note 1.

CXV. KULĀHĪ.[1]

He is acquainted with several branches of learning, and he received the title of Afẓal Khān. He came to Hindūstān from the Dakan and was enrolled for some time among the doctors of the sacred law. On the occasion on which Mīrzā Muqīm and Mīr Ḥabash were put to death[2] by the sentence of Mullā 'Abdu-'llāh of Lāhor on a charge of heresy and of cursing the companions of Muḥammad[3] he fled in terror[4] from this country to the Dakan and departed thence for the next world. The following verses are his :—

"I tell love's secret to none but my own heart,
For my heart hears the word which I speak, and tells it not again."

"I placed my head on her feet, but she was vexed with me.
When I seized her skirt she snatched it away and passed from me."

"How long will the jealous watcher oppose my passing through that door?
He girds up his loins in enmity against me. O Lord, let him not gird up his loins!"

"Whenever the enemy comes to war against thee with helmet on head,
When thou in battle smitest his helmet with thy sword,

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[1] Kulāhī is not mentioned as a poet in the *Āīn* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

[2] Vide text, vol. ii, pp. 124, 198, 255. The latter two pages contain references to the execution of Mīr Ḥabash. From this passage it is evident that he suffered with Mīrzā Muqīm.

[3] تبرّا (*tabarrā*) *vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, pp. 576, 577 and note 5. I may add to Lt.-Colonel Ranking's note that the word is commonly applied to actual reviling of Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān.

[4] It is clear that Kulāhī was a *Shī'ah*. The kingdom in the Dakan from which he came is not mentioned. Of the Muḥammadan Kings in the Dakan the Quṭb Shāhī Kings of Golkonda without exception, the 'Ādil Shāhī Kings of Bījāpūr with one exception, and the Niẓām Shāhī Kings of Aḥmadnagar with very few exceptions, were *Shī'ahs*.

(The sword) cleaves his helmet as a pen divides the
columns on the paper, and, with the red blood,
Draws a ruled column on the page of the field of battle."

CXVI. KALĀMĪ.[1]

He is of Caghatāī descent and was for a long time in Sind. He used to be constantly arguing and wrangling with Mullā Niyāzī.[2] He came from Bakar,[3] and was for some time in Āgra. He writes poetry after the style of the men of Transoxiana. The following verses are his :—

"I attempted to close the road against my tears by thinking
on thy ringlets,
But water is not to be bound with a chain."

"Thy face is the fountain of love, and drops of sweat
Like bubbles appear everywhere on it.
Look on the bud of my bleeding heart and see
How it has been cleft once and again by my love's sword,
and is smiling."

"Sit for a moment, of thy grace, in the eyes of Kalāmī,
For there is to be found a purified corner, and water will be
in thy sight."

CXVII. KĀMĪ OF QUM.[4]

He is a youth lately arrived at man's estate and has recently come to Hindūstān. His disposition is not without sprightliness. The following couplet is his :—

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[1] Kalāmī is not mentioned, either in the *Āīn* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*, as a poet.

[2] *Vide infra* No. CLIII.

[3] The capital of a *sarkār*, or revenue district, in the *Ṣūbah* of Multān. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, ii, p. 333.

[4] Kāmī is thus described in the *Ṭabaqāt*: 'He is a youth lately arrived at man's estate, and has a poet's tongue.' In the *Āīn* (i, p. 160) he is called Kāmī of Sabzavār and Abū-l-Faẓl remarks that his mind is somewhat unsettled. Mr. Blochmann adds the following note: 'Kāmī's father, Khwāja Yaḥyā, was a grocer, and lived in the Maidān Maḥallah of Sabzavār, in

"My whole body would turn to blood and flow out at my eyes
If I knew that weeping would be of any avail."

CXVIII. LIQĀ'Ī OF ASTARĀBĀD.[1]

He is an epitome of many accomplishments. He was for some time with the Khānzamān. The following couplet is from his poems:—

"My tongue made mention of my heart-subduing sword,
May it be well with the speech that I uttered." [2]

CXIX. LIWĀ'Ī.[3]

He was descended from one of the holy men of Sabzavār. He had a pretty wit, and was for some time in service at court. The following verses are his:—

"When the stranger comes towards thee to see thee
I stand between thee and him, that haply he may not see thee."

"I speak not of thee to the stranger
Lest desire for thee should find a place in his heart."

"When the lewd mention with lubricity the names of their lights-o'-love
I ever fear lest, by some error, thy name should be mentioned."

Khurāsān. Occasionally he wrote poems. When the Uzbaks took Sabzavār Mīr Yaḥyā went to India and left Kāmī, then twelve years old, with one of his relations in Sabzavār. At the request of his father Kāmī came to India, and was frequently with the Khānkhānān. He went afterwards back to Khurāsān, and the author of the *Ma'āṣir-i-Raḥīmī* saw him, in A.H. 1014 (A.D. 1605-56), in Hirāt. While travelling from Hirāt to his home he was killed by robbers, who carried off the property which he had acquired in the Khānkhānān's service.

The *Haft Iqlīm* says that his poems are good, but that he was irascible and narrow-minded.'

[1] Liqā'ī is mentioned neither in *Āīn* nor in the *Ṭabaqāt.*

[2] *I.e.* may it come true.

[3] Liwā'ī is mentioned in the *Āīn* (i, 613) as Pīrzāda, nephew of Mīr Davām of Khurāsān, a singer and chanter.'

In A.H. 995 (A.D. 1587) in Lāhor, a wall, blown down by some ill wind, fell on his head, and the coin of his life was whirled away by the breeze. As he was unrivalled as a singer and chanter this chronogram was composed on the event :—

"Alas, that by the efforts of the unjust sky
A nightingale of sweet song is gone from the garden!
He was so smitten on the loins by a whirling stone
That he was wounded and went from our midst.
I asked of wisdom the date of his death,
And received the answer, 'The *Pīrzāda* has gone from the world.'"[1]

CXX. La'lī.[2]

He is Mīrzā La'l Beg, the son of Shāh Qulī Sulṭān of Badakhshān. He is a young man of exceeding nobility of disposition, and is distinguished by the delicacy of his beauty, and as well known for the purity of his nature as for his beauty of form. He is remarkable for his good manners, his humility, his amiable disposition, his courtesy, and his modesty, and he is one of the intimate associates of the emperor. At the present time a *farmān* has been issued from court to him in the Dakan ordering him to leave the service of Sulṭān Murād[3] and to join the court at Lāhor. He is very well read in history, and in travels. The author is bound to him by bonds of mutual acquaintance and great regard.

He sometimes occupies himself with poetry, and the following couplet from his poems remains in the author's memory :—

"Since I have become as the dust of the road in thy path I fear
Lest thou should not pass by me, but should take another way."

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[1] پیرزاده از جهان رفت. The letters have the following values: 2+10+200+7+1+4+5+1+7+3+5+1+50+200+80+400 = 976. The chronogram is thus wrong by no less than 19 years.

[2] I have not been able to discover any mention elsewhere of La'lī or of his father.

[3] Akbar's second surviving son, at this time (A.D. 1595) employed in the Dakan.

CXXI. Luṭfī the Astrologer.[1]

He was a good boon companion, and had by heart so many of the verses of the great masters of poetry that he could in one night recite a thousand verses on any subject. He also imitated the great poets well. He was for some time with Mīrzā Niẓamu-d-dīn Aḥmad in Gujarāt, and by his efforts received a fixed sum of money granted for the purpose of enabling him to travel, and embarked on a sea-voyage. The following couplets are by him:—

"That face like the pomegranate flower became like a parterre of roses from the glow of wine,
O rose-sellers, good news! Roses are plentiful."

———

"In the breeze of the rose-garden I smelt but the odour of thee.
I passed by no rose but it wafted to me the odour of my love."

———

"If my heart becomes a flame of fire, what then? It will wither away.
If the rose of my fate blossom from paradise, what then? It will fade."

———

"Each sigh that I heaved over thee in regret
Has become a palm-tree to adorn the meadow of my repentance."

CXXII. Mīr Murtaẓā Sharīfī of Shīrāz.[2]

He was the grandson of Mir Sayyid Sharīf-i-Jarjānī,[3] (may his tomb be hallowed). In the exact sciences, in various branches of philosophy, in logic, and in metaphysics he excelled all the learned men of the age. He went from Shīrāz to the glorious city of Makkah, and there studied the Traditions[1] under Shaikh Ibn Ḥajar and received a teaching diploma. Thence he went to the Dakan, and from the Dakan he came to Āgra, where he attained a higher position than most learned and erudite men of former or recent times. He employed himself in giving instruction in arts and sciences until, in the year H. 974 (A.D. 1566-67), as has already been said,[2] he departed to Paradise. His body, which was at first interred near that of Mīr Khusrav[3] (God's mercy be on him), was taken to Mashhad, and Mīr Muḥsin Riẓavī[4] found the following chronogram for his death :—

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[1] MS. (A) calls this poet '*Mīr* Luṭfī.' In the *Ṭabaqāt* he is thus described:—'Mulla Luṭfī the Astrologer composed good extempore verses, and could recite as many as a thousand couplets at one sitting. He was a good companion over the bottle, and a mimic He understood astrology well, and was in the company of the author for several years.'

[2] Mīr Murtaẓā is mentioned in the *Āīn* (i, 540) as one of the learned men of the third degree, acquainted with philosophy and theology.

[3] *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 84, where Mīr Sayyid Sharīf is thus described: 'that paragon of mankind, the eleventh intelligence!' From this passage it

> " When Mīr Murtaẓā left this world
> It was as though knowledge departed from the race of Adam.
> To give the date of his departure Muḥsin
> Said, ' A paragon has departed from the world.' "[5]

The following couplet is one of the productions of the Mīr's noble genius :—

> " Ease of heart is not to be obtained from material possessions.
> The seed of ease of the heart is in the dispersal of material possessions."

It is probable that the source of this couplet is that passage in

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appears that Mīr Murtaẓā Sharīfī was one of those sent, in 1566, to the Khānzamān, to convey to him the emperor's forgiveness, and to exhort him to repentance for his rebellion.

[1] حديث (*ḥadīth*) the 'sayings' of Muḥammad.

[2] *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 99. " In this year (A H. 974) that paragon of the age, Mīr Murtaẓā Sharīfī of Shīrāz, passed from this illusory world, and was at first buried in Dihlī, near the tomb of Mīr Khusrav (on him be God's mercy). But the *Ṣadr*, and the Qāẓī, and the *Shaikhu-l-Islām*, then represented that as Mīr Khusrav was a native of India and a *Sunnī* and Mīr Murtaẓā a native of 'Irāq and a heretic, Mīr Khusrav would be annoyed by his company, for there is no doubt that ' the companionship of an unworthy man is a grievous torment to the soul.' It was therefore ordered that he should be removed from there and buried elsewhere, and thus, as is evident, great injustice was done to both."

[3] The famous poet of Dihlī.

[4] *Vide* no. CXXIV.

[5] علامهٔ ز عالم رفت The sum of the numerical values of the letters is 974.

the *Lawā'iḥ*[1] in which it is said that some have believed that contentment consisted in the accumulation of material possessions and consequently remain in distraction to all eternity, while others, knowing for certain that the accumulation of material possessions is one of the causes of distraction, have washed their hands of all things.

CXXIII. MAḤWĪ.[2]

This is the poetical name of Mīr Maḥmūd the *Munshī*, who was for twenty-five years chief secretary to the empire of Hindūstān. His daughter married Naqīb Khān.[3] He had some poetical talent, and wrote poetry like a secretary. The following quatrain is one which he wrote at the beginning of the dīvān of Bairam Khān :—

> " Of being and of a place of existence there was in the beginning no trace,
> For all things came into being by virtue of the two letters of the command ' Be.'
> Since these two letters were the key of existence
> They have become the opening couplet of the preface to the *dīvān* of things seen."[4]

The following is another quatrain of his, an enigma on the name ' Qāsim ' :—

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[1] Probably the *Lawā'iḥ-i-Jāmī*, a work on ethics by the famous Persian poet, Mullā 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān-i-Jāmī.

[2] Mīr Maḥmūd is not mentioned as a poet in the *Āīn*, or in the *Ṭabaqāt*. Mīr Mughīṣ, who also had this *takhalluṣ* is mentioned in both works.

[3] Mir Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī, son of Mīr 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf, a Saifī Sayyid of Qazvīn. He was a commander of nine hundred under Akbar. He came to India with his father while Akbar, after his accession, was still in the Panjāb. He was Akbar's reader, was very proficient in history, wrote several portions of the *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* and superintended the translations from Sanskṛt into Persian. On the accession of Jahāngīr he was made a commander of fifteen hundred. He died at Ajmer in A.H. 1023 (A.D. 1614) and was buried beside his wife within the enclosure of Mu'īnu-d-dīn Cishtī's tomb.

[4] شهود (*Shuhūd*). The word has several meanings. Its meaning here may perhaps be that attached to it by the *Ṣūfīs*, ' the sight of God,' ' the beatific vision.'

"There is a capricious one the dust of whose door-step is my lodging,
From whom I have gained naught but cruelty and oppression.
When I see her face over the corner of the roof
Her eye shoots the arrow of cruelty at my heart."

This is a couplet of his :—

"Perfume not the jasmine with musk,
Draw not a line of ambergris around the sun."

He wrote the following quatrain to describe a horse which had been given to him by the emperor Humāyūn :—

"O King with an army like that of Jams͟hīd, monarch of boundless power,
I have a horse which is exceedingly lean and weak ;
When I mount him, at every two or three steps which he takes
He falls, saying, 'Now you carry me for two or three steps.'"

The source of this quatrain is certainly that well-known couplet, by whom I know not :—

"He goes one or two steps and then says,
'Now do you carry *me* for an hour or so ?'"

Following the idea expressed in the following couplet by a master of poetry,

"O lovely one with heart of stone and body of silver,[1]
Whose lip is comfort and whose glance is destruction"

he wrote the following ode in two metres [2] :—

"O thou whose lovely face is the envy of the jasmine,
Whose comely stature is the cypress of the meadow

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[1] The text has سمين (*Samīn*) 'fat,' 'plump,' but the metre requires سيمين (*Sīmīn*) 'of silver.'

[2] There are many syllables which may be, by the rules of Persian prosody, either short or long, and the art of the composition described consists in the introduction of syllables of this nature in such positions that the poem may be read in two metres. The two metres in which this ode may be read are these known as *Báḥr-i-sarī'-i-maqṭū'* and *Ramal-i-musaddas-i-maqṣūr*. A

323 Whose laughing lip is a load of sugar,
Whose row of teeth is a string of pearls from 'Adan,
Whose musky locks are a net of calamity,
Whose narcissus-like bewitching eye is seduction's self ;
Thy fawn's eyes are hunters of men,
Thy glance, drawing blood from the heart, shoots sharp arrows,
Thy ringlets work naught but magic,
The glances of thy eyes seek but to draw blood from the heart,
The down newly sprung draws on the jasmine of thy cheek a life-giving line of musk,
Of thy grace cast a glance towards Maḥwī
O lovely one with heart of stone and body of silver ! "

Shaikh Faiẓī also, in the days of his ignorance and while he was yet a boy, practised the same metrical trick, and wrote the following ode in four metres[1] :—

" O thou, whose goodly figure resembles a moving cypress,
Whose arched eyebrow is bent like a bow,
The curl of whose locks is a snare of love's madness,
Whose dark ringlet is the desire of Paradise,
Thy bewitching lip is the water of life,
The lovely down on thy cheek is the Khiẓr of these days,
Thy fawn's eyes are calamity's self,
Even a raging tiger would fall before the eyes of such a fawn,
The wretched Faiẓī is bound in the bonds of thy locks,
All the world is smitten with thy dark ringlets."

One day, about the time when this hasty essay was being written, Shaikh Faiẓī saw in my hand the *Taẕkirah* of Mīr

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full explanation of these terms would involve a long note on Arabic and Persian prosody which would be of no interest to those who have not mastered its rules, and superfluous for those who have.

[1] See the last note. The four metres in which Faiẓī's ode may be read are : (1) *Baḥr-i-Sarīʿ-i-maqṭūʿ*, (2) *Baḥr-i-Khafīf-i-makhbūn-i-maqṭūʿ*, (3) *Baḥr-i-Ramal-i-musaddas-i-maqṣūr*, and (4) *Baḥr-i-Ramal-i-musaddas-i-makhbūn-i-maḥẕūf*.

'Alā'u-d-daulah. He snatched it from me, and, tearing out the leaf containing an account of himself, tore it to pieces, just as the book of his life was torn to pieces.[1] I also, in those days when I had not repented of such vain conceits, composed the opening couplet of an ode in four metres, a mere piece of trash which is not worthy of mention. I hope that the generous recording angels have blotted it from the record of my deeds with the water of forgetfulness.

CXXIV. Mir Muḥsin Riẓavī of Mashhad.[2]

He sometimes exercises his mind with poetry, and as a poet stands in the same class as Mir Maḥmūd the *Munshī*, but is rather superior to him.[3] The following verses are by Muḥsin :— 324

"I do not desire her to be kind to me before strangers,
For I fear lest a stranger should see her and be captivated by her."

"One of stature like the cypress and with a mouth like a rose-bud has stolen my heart,
In the flower of my youth she has disgraced me before the world."

"O thou, the plant of whose graceful form is fresh with the water of life,
The cypress is overcome with shame before thy stature."

I prefer the word *shādāb* ('well-watered') to *Khurram*, ('fresh') in the first hemistich.

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[1] 'The book of his life' is a figurative expression. The author means to say that Faiẓī destroyed the leaf as utterly as his body was afterwards destroyed by death. His reason for doing so seems to have been that he was ashamed of his childish essay in poetry of several metres.

[2] Riẓavī is not mentioned as a poet in the *Āīn* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*. He was sent on an embassy to the Dakan, from which he returned early in 1574. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 171.

[3] The author uses a very vague expression here. Its literal translation is, 'He is in the same world (or category) as Mīr Maḥmūd the *Munshī*, but more so.' Whether the words 'but more so' mean 'rather better' or 'rather worse' depends entirely on Badāonī's estimate of Mīr Maḥmūd's verse at the time when the sentence was penned.

The following is an enigma by him on the word *rūḥ* (' the soul ') :—

" O thou whose wavy locks waylay souls whom thou chidest,
O thou, the painful longing for whom pours balm on broken hearts,
Is it the reflection of thy lip that is seen in water,
Or is it a rose-petal fallen into a cup of wine ?"

The following is another enigma, on the name of Ḥusain S͟hāh :—

" How pleasant to me is the habitation in my eyes of that moonlike beauty !
How pleasant is the acceptable aspect of her moonlike face !
Muḥsin has placed his head on her feet,
For her face like the sun, and yet like the moon, is pleasant." [1]

CXXV. MAUJĪ.[2]

325 He was Qāsim K͟hān of Badak͟hs͟hān, one of the well-known *Amīrs* of the emperor Humāyūn. He was well acquainted with the art of poetry and wrote poetry well. He wrote a *maṣnavī* of six thousand couplets in imitation of the *Yūsuf-u-Zulaik͟hā* (of Jāmī) [3] from which the following few couplets descriptive of the beloved are extracted :—

" The priceless jewelled band which bound her hair
Has fallen on her neck, feeling its own worthlessness beside her hair,
She has not hung earrings of bright rubies in her ears
For there are hung distracted hearts.
Fortune, of its great favour, has not adorned
The neck of her dress with pearls like her teeth ;
For as an ornament of the bosom of her goodly dress
Drops of blood fall from her face.[4]

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[1] I have not attempted to solve these enigmas. The task would be both difficult and unprofitable.

[2] This poet is casually mentioned on p. 314 of the text in vol. ii, but I can find no mention of him elsewhere.

[3] *Vide* p. 347, note 6.

[4] Apparently from the hearts hung in her ears.

When gold saw itself spurned by her feet
It fell in showers round her feet like fine muslin.
The whiteness of her neck, like a camphor candle,
Rises from the bosom of her dress like a cord of light.
The whiteness of her arm exceeds that of silver,[1]
Her fore-arm is as a chaplet of roses hung on jasmine.
From those two sweet chaplets of hers
Her sleeves are filled with jasmine.
Her palm is as though she had taken a rose-petal in her hand.
Each finger is like the bud of a lily set upon it.
Her breast and shoulders, which deprive the mind of sense,
Seem to have taken a harvest of roses into their embrace.
As I am making entries in the register of her beauty (I may say)
That the pure whiteness of her bosom exceeds that of milk;
Her two nipples of incomparable beauty,
Are as bubbles on the surface of milk.
Her waist transcends the bounds of description
For here the utmost delicacy is to be seen."

He has also written a poem *Lailā-u-Majnūn* of which this couplet of his is quoted :—

" An old man of an honourable tribe
Whose beard is like a white rose a yard in length."

The following quatrain, he used to say, occurred to his mind in a dream :—

" O breeze, bring me some news from the street of my beloved !
Bring to my dying body good news of my life.
It is hard for me to arrive there.
Do me this favour and betake thyself thither swiftly." 326

" The cup-sickness of the wine of grief has made me heavy-headed;
Come, cup-bearer, and free me from the griefs of the world."

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[1] Literally 'has broken the fore-arm of (*i.e.* 'has overcome') silver.'

> " Cup-bearer, how long shall we dilate on
> What we have suffered from fate ?
> Fill the cup, that we may for an hour free our hearts of
> grief.''

Towards the end of his life he gave up the profession of arms, resigned his appointment, and retired into the corner of seclusion. How well would it have been with him had he also given up the writing of poetry ![1] His death occurred in Āgra, in A.H. 979 (A.D. 1571-72).

CXXVI. Mīrzāda ‘Alī Khān.[2]

He was the son of Muḥtaram Beg, one of the well-known *Amīrs* of the emperor Humāyūn. He was a man of pleasing qualities, and was fond of poetry, and sometimes wrote it. The following couplet is his :—

> " In the evening when thou throwest the veil from thy face
> The sun, unable to bear the dazzling sight, sets.''

He was slain in Kashmīr in A.H. 996[3] (A.D. 1588) in the battle in which the imperial forces under Qāsim Khān, *Mīr-i-Baḥr*,[4] were defeated in a night attack made by Ya‘qūb, the son of Yūsuf Khān of Kashmīr.

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[1] The author is not casting aspersions on Maujī's verses, but is regretting that he did not give up a pursuit which is regarded by strict Muslims as a vain, if not unlawful, occupation.

[2] Mīrzāda ‘Alī Khān was a commander of nine hundred. He served in the expedition in Mālwa against ‘Abdu-'llah Khān Uzbak in the ninth year, and in the seventeenth year in the war in Gujarāt under the Khān-i-Kalān. Two years later he commanded an expedition against Qāsim Khān Kāsū in Bihār. In the twenty-third year he accompanied Shāhbāz Khān in the war against Rānā Partāb. He then served in Bihār under the Khān-i-A‘ẓam and in Bengal under Shāhbāz Khān. In A.D. 1585 he was present in the fight with Qutlū near Bardwān. In 1586 he was ordered to join Qāsim Khān, who was on his way to Kashmīr. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 443.

[3] Mr. Blochmann says (*Āīn*, i, 443) that he was killed in A.H. 995 (A.D. 1587) in a fight in which the Kashmīrīs defeated an imperial detachment under Sayyid ‘Abdu‘llāh Khān. I do not know what authority there is for this statement, but we can hardly refuse to accept as correct the statement of Badāoni, who was apparently a personal friend of the poet, and mentions his death in three passages, here, and in vol. ii, (text) pp. 354, 369.

[4] A commander of three thousand, and one of Akbar's chief *amīrs*. He

CXXVII. Mu'izzī of Hirāt.[1]

He was a Ṭabāṭabā'ī [2] Sayyid, and as a boy was educated with Kāmrān Mīrzā.[3] He was for nearly fifty years in India, and it was in Hindūstān that he departed this life in the year A.H. 982 (A.D. 1574-75). The following two couplets are his:—

"How long, O sky, wilt thou keep me whirling around like 327
a mote in a sunbeam?
How long wilt thou keep me in exile and destitute?"

"I said, 'with a sigh I will drive out grief from my heart.'
My grief is not lessened by sighs. Ah! What shall I do?"

CXXVIII. Murādī of Astarābād.[4]

He was of the Sayyids of Astarābād. He came to Hindūstān and died in A.H. 979 (A.D. 1571-72). He is remembered by many verses which he has left, a few of which are the following:—

"She showed her face from behind the curtain. Ah, this is indeed the dawn!
This is the perfection of God's omnipotence in his handiwork.
Not even on one night has the star of my desire risen in thy face;
This is indeed my ill fate and my evil fortune.
See that thou hanker not after delight of the heart, and ease
In the dust-bin of this world, for this is the house of toil.

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conquered Kashmīr and in the thirty-fourth year was made governor of Kābul. He was murdered in A.D. 1593-94 by a young man who pretended to be a son of Mīrzā Shāhrukh. Vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 379.

[1] Mu'izzī is not mentioned as poet in the *Āīn*, nor in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

[2] That is to say, a Sayyid descended from Ismā'īl bin Ibrāhīm, great-grandson of 'Alī, who was called *Ṭabāṭabā* on account of his pronouncing the letter ق like ط.

[3] Younger brother of Humāyūn, and uncle of Akbar.

[4] Murādī is mentioned as a poet neither in the *Āīn*, nor in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

Yesterday Murādī passed away to the dust and his love said,
'This is one who has been killed in the path of love by the stone of cruelty.
O flood of grief, wash not from my eyes the dust of his road,
For it is to me a memorial of one who, (while he lived), was as the dust under my feet.' "

"It was the blackness[1] of her locks which was all the foundation of my faith,
I am no true Musalmān if I turn my face away from her.
328 Though the dog of thy street is more highly regarded than I,
Yet I am not a whit behind him in the path of fidelity."

"The lovely ones, who have made their ringlets ornaments around their faces,
Have taken the people in these snares."

"Absent from that rosy-faced one, my heart is contracted like a rosebud,
A madman am I, smitten with love's madness, fighting with shadows."

"When fate drew that line of dusky down on my love's face,
It drew beside it the line of my dependence on her."

CXXIX. MUSHFIQĪ OF BUKHĀRĀ.[2]

He came originally from Marv. Some men regard him, for his

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[1] كفر (*kufr*) literally 'infidelity.'

[2] Mushfiqī is mentioned in the *Āīn* (i, 583) but no account of him is given. According to the *Haft Iqlīm* he was born and died at Bukhārā. Badāonī's statement that he came originally from Marv may possibly mean no more than that his ancestors came from that place. Dāghistānī says that he was *Maliku-sh-Shu'arā* or poet-laureate under 'Abdu-'llāh Khān the Uzbak, King

qaṣīdahs, as the Salmān [1] of the age, but this is a great mistake, for his conceits suffer, to an extraordinary degree, from the defects common to the poets of Transoxiana, and are all frigid. He came twice to Hindūstān and left the country again. The following are some of his most pointed verses:—

> "Since all the cash that Majnūn had to show for his life was his grief for his beloved,
> May God pardon him in consideration of this cash, for he loved much."

> "For loving I have found myself much blamed,
> I thought love an easy matter, but it proved to be difficult." [2]

> "Since the meadow each night has lit in the garden the lamp of the rose.
> The tulip's petal has burst into flame and both the petal and the black scar on it have been consumed."

He had a subtle tongue in satire, and one of his witty satires was this fragment, which he composed on the occasion of his last visit to India:—

> "The land of Ind is a sugar-field,
> Its parrots all sell sugar,
> Its black Hindūs are like flies
> In their turbans and long coats." [3]

329

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of Bukhārā. Sprenger says that he was born in A.H. 945 (A.D. 1538-39) and that his second *dīvān* was collected in A.H. 983 (A.D. 1575-76). From the *Akbarnāma* it appears that he was presented to Akbar at Pāk Patan in A.D. 1578. He died in A.D. 1586.

[1] The great poet Salmān of Sāwa, who died A.D. 1367-68.

[2] Cf. Ḥāfiẓ, … … … که عشق آسان نمود اول ولی افتاد مشکلها 'For love appeared easy at first, but difficulties soon arose.

[3] The text is apparently corrupt here. It has نگوچه (*nagūca*), a word which is neither Hindūstānī nor Persian. Mr. Blochmann, in the *Āīn* (i, 583), reads ٹکوچیه (*ṭakaucia*), a word certainly not in common use, but explained on p. 88 of the *Āīn* as meaning the long coat commonly worn in India, usually known as چپکن (*capkan*). The meaning of the last verse is that the turban and the long skirts of the coat are like the large head and straight wings of the fly. This fragment is quoted, in a mutilated condition, by

CXXX. MAILĪ OF HIRĀT.[1]

His name was Mīrzā Qulī. He left a *dīvān* and was a master of poetical style. His taste in poetry was such that if he had lived till now most of the raw poetasters of to-day would have grown sick of trafficking in verse, and from the time in which he flourished until now none of our later versifiers can be mentioned beside him. He was for many years in the service of Naurang Khān,[2] and wrote several brilliant encomiastic odes on him. It is said that on account of some suspicion against him something was at last, by order of Naurang Khān, put into his cup, and that he was thus sent from the world. His death took place in Mālwa. The following verses are by him :—

Abū-l-Faẓl, in the *Āīn* (*loc. cit.*). Abū-'l-Faẓl transfers the simile from the Hindūs, whom he liked, to the learned among orthodox Muslims, whom he disliked. *Vide* Mr. Blochmann's note (*Āīn, loc. cit.*). Mr. Blochmann remarks that the first couplet of the fragment is a parody on (he should have said 'was suggested by') a couplet in the well-known *ghazal* which Hāfiẓ (ode 158, Jarrett's edition) sent to Ghiyāṣu-dīn, Sulṭān of Bengāl :—

شکرشکن شوند همه طوطیان هند
زین قند پارسي که ببنگاله میرود

" The parrots of Ind will be tasting the sweets
Of this Persian sugar now sent to Bengal."

Mushfiqī seems to have been a diligent student of Hāfiẓ.

[1] Mailī is thus described in the *Ṭabaqāt*: 'Mīrzā Qulī, Mailī, was for years in the service of Naurang Khān, who was one of the *amīrs* attached to the emperor's exalted family. He has written a *dīvān* of *ghazals* and *qaṣīdahs*.' In the *Āīn* he is thus mentioned, 'His name was Mīrzā Qulī. He was of Turkish extraction and lived in the society of gay people.' The year in which he came to India is variously given as A.H. 979 (A.D 1571-72) and A.H. 983 (A.D. 1575-76). The *Ātashkada-yi-Āẕarī* says he was brought up in Mashhad. According to Dāghistānī he belonged to the Jalāir clan, lived under Ṭahmāsp, and was in the service of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, after whose death he went to India. He is much praised for his poetry ; the author of the *Ātashkada* says that he was one of his favourite poets.

[2] Naurang Khān was the son of Quṭbu-'d-dīn Khān, the youngest brother of Shamsu-'d-dīn Muhammad Khān Ataga. He served under Mīrzā, Khān-khānān in Gujarāt in A.H. 992 (A.D. 1584), and received a *jāgīr* in Mālwa and subsequently in Gujarāt. Mr. Blochmann (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 334) says that he died in A.H. 999 (A.D. 1590-91), but, according to the *Ṭabaqāt*, where he is styled a commander of four thousand, he was governor of Jūnagarh in A.H. 1001 (A.D. 1593-94).

"Thou surely knowest that love for thee does not depart with life
That thou walkest thus proudly over the dust of those killed (by love)."

"Thou art neither my friend nor a stranger, and I know not
What name is given to such intercourse as this."

"My heart is restless within my body which has been slain by love;
I know not what more it expects from my beloved,
It describes as 'proving' the cruelty which it suffers from thee,
And by this artifice persuades itself to patience for a while."

"My life is about to leave me and I am well pleased with this, for my heart
Has now some hope of a remedy for its many years of pain."

"In thy absence I do not die, lest thy heart should say
'This weakling who has not experienced my cruelty could not endure my absence for a day or two.'" **330**

"Although she came to ask how I fared I died,
In jealous wonder as to who it was from whom she asked the way to my house."

"I die and have pity for those who live, for thou
Art accustomed to committing such cruelty as thou hast done unto me."

Some people read *rashk* ('jealousy') for *raḥm* ('pity') in this last couplet. The distinction between the two is for such as have a nice discrimination in the matter of words.

The following verses also are by him :—

"I, with my wounded heart, am a half-dead victim of the chase, whom
The hunter in his pity quickly slays."

"My beloved desires my death for her ease, and I
With shame bear the burden of my weary life."

"I have made thee, as my beloved, a byword, and I rejoice
In thy shame, for thou now wilt cast no glances on men."

"What ill fortune is Maili's, to experience nothing but cruelty at her hands!
She is but a child, who cannot distinguish between cruelty and fidelity."[1]

"I am alone with my broken heart, and I gladly entrust it to thee:
Of what use will it be to me, that I should keep it?
O my enemy! I am at my last breath, give her to me for a moment
That I may restore her to thee with a hundred thousand pangs."

"In spite of her slights I would not arise at once from her feast
For if I remain I hope to be glad for a moment at least:
After long years I am sitting, on some pretence, at her feast
331 And she speaks to me of my rival, hoping that I will leave."

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[1] There is a difference of one letter only between the two Persian words, جفا (*jafā*) 'cruelty.' and وفا (*vafā*) 'fidelity.'

Come not to ask how I fare, since there is no hope of my recovery.
The desire to see me die is no sign of love.
So ardently do I desire speech with thee
That I cannot keep silence, despite my wretched plight
Thou art with my rival and Maili pretends to ignore it,
With an ignorance which is not less than a hundred regretful glances."[1]

"I feign to be free from my longing for her,
That this wile of love may make her less scornful of me."

"A hundred times have I been grieved by her and again made peace with her,
But that moon-like beauty recks not whether I be at peace or at war with her."

"What has happened that thou passest by Mailī with fierce shyness?
Perchance thou art in fresh pursuit of other game."

"O Mailī, that one with the wonder-working breath of 'Īsā[2] comes to thy pillow.
One who had been dead for a hundred years
Would rise up in joy at her coming."

"I expected thee, faithless as thou art, to abide by thy compact,
In the great simplicity of my heart I expected this."

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[1] This last couplet is not in the text, but is in both MSS. It completes the ode. The couplet runs as follows :—

تو با رقیبی و میلی تغافلي دارد   تغافلي که کم از صد نگاه حسرت نیست

[2] عیسی ('Īsā) is the name given by Musalmāns to our Lord, whose miracles of raising the dead to life they attribute to His breath, *vide* p. 224 and note.

The following verses also are by him :—

"I, with my wounded heart, am a half-dead victim of the chase, whom
The hunter in his pity quickly slays."

"My beloved desires my death for her ease, and I
With shame bear the burden of my weary life."

"I have made thee, as my beloved, a byword, and I rejoice
In thy shame, for thou now wilt cast no glances on men."

"What ill fortune is Maili's, to experience nothing but cruelty at her hands!
She is but a child, who cannot distinguish between cruelty and fidelity."[1]

"I am alone with my broken heart, and I gladly entrust it to thee:
Of what use will it be to me, that I should keep it?
O my enemy! I am at my last breath, give her to me for a moment
That I may restore her to thee with a hundred thousand pangs."

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Would rise up in joy at her coming."

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[1] This last couplet is not in the text, but is in both MSS. It completes the ode. The couplet runs as follows :—

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[2] عیسی ('Īsạ) is the name given by Musalmāns to our Lord, whose miracles of raising the dead to life they attribute to His breath, *vide* p. 224 and note.

"If anybody has brought about a meeting between my love and me
Her anger with me has certainly made him ashamed of what he has done for me.
The good news of a meeting with her, which the stranger in ridicule gave me,
Has made me, in my simplicity, expectant of its fulfilment."

"So long as there remains between us, even in secret, any talk of 'me and thee'
A stranger is at our feast, sitting between thee and me.[1]
Thou through modesty enterest not into speech, and I, in bashfulness, refrain
332 Wondering how the jealous wretchers represent what we would say."

"She came upon me by accident, and pretended that she had remembered her promise;
She hung her head, and pretended that she did so in modesty."

In the following verse he has imitated the compiler of the *Muntakhab*.[2]

"The sky desired to vex the people, and consequently
Availed itself of the ill-will of her who torments us."

CXXXI. MALIK OF QUM.[3]

He was supposed to be the king of words. He lived the life of a *darvīsh* in the Dakan,[4] and his eyes were seldom free from tears. It is said that at the time of the massacre[1] of the foreigners by the Dakanis he followed the direction of those foreigners who inhabit the land of non-existence. The following verses are extracted from his works :—

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[1] This couplet, which is carelessly omitted from MS. (B), deals with the favourite theme of the absolute oneness of the lover and the beloved.

[2] I do not know to what *Muntakhab*, or Selection, Badāonī here refers. It is not likely to be this work, for whenever he casually mentions any poetry that he may have written he adds an expression of regret for having written it.

[3] Malik, not being a poet of Akbar's court, is not mentioned in the *Āīn* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

[4] *Scil*. the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar.

"The edge of the sword of testimony has brushed away the dust of dissension,
Fire-worshipper, Christian, and Muslim are all killed by one dagger."

"The inmost parts of the cold-hearted are cut to pieces,
And salt is then sprinkled on the wounds in their hearts."

"Thou, with thy sweet smile, art balm to wounded hearts,
But thy eyelashes are a sharp lancet to the liver.[2]
The wine of love is not suited to the capacity of intellect,[3]
Thou that pretendest to knowledge art no tiger of our forest."

"The cloud of the eye waters thy narcissus,[4]
The sight of thee arouses no suspicion of cruelty."

"The sword of her cruelty drips with blood, I fear that Malik 333
Will go in search of his reward to the house of the slayer."

"The treasury of my imagination is so full of the treasure of the thought of reunion with her that my eyes will not close."

"When the army of well-being[5] comes impudently against thee, O Malik,

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[1] *Vide* p. 373, note 1.

[2] One of the seats of the affections, according to oriental belief.

[3] The text has عشق, which does not make sense. Both MSS. have عقل, which reading I have followed.

[4] The eye of the beloved is compared with a narcissus.

[5] *i.e.* of complacency and freedom from love.

Saddle the horse of strife and hurl thyself against the
centre[1] of the army."

"How long will one expect the fulfilment of promises from
every deceiver?
One has one's eye on the door and one's ear open for the
footfall of every comer.
Enemies gladly give this much ease to one's pain,
But woe be to him who expects fidelity from them."

"What breeze has been dressing thy head
That thy hyacinthine locks are scattered over the rose of
thy cheek?
Eternity without beginning is sworn to thy moon-like face.
Eternity without end is attached to thy waving locks.
Sugar melts at the sight of thy smiling face,
Salt is attracted by thy sweet smile of love.
The temple bell is melody to the bead-tellers
In that land where the idol is lord."

I saw the complete copy of Malik's works which S͟haik͟h Faiẓī brought from the Dakan. All his poetry is after the fashion of that of the poets of this age and he has not departed from their set forms. No odour of love, of sympathy, or of any fresh subject **334** has touched his verse, and therefore I have confined myself to quoting these brief extracts. To what extent he understood the set terms used in poetry may he estimated from the following couplet, which is the opening couplet of his *dīvān*[2]:—

"O Thou whose praise is the ladder to all discourses,
The mention of whom is the pulpit of all assemblies!"

[1] There is a *double entendre* here. قلب (*qalb*) means both 'heart' and 'the centre of an army.'

[2] Badāonī is hard to please. He blames Malik for introducing no fresh matter into his poetry, and then blames him for using an uncommon, if not original, simile. It must be remembered that Malik was almost certainly a *S͟hī'ah.*

His rhymes are a delight to his enemies, not to mention the complete lack of dignity in his diction. In my humble opinion the following couplet is the best poetry he has written :—

"I stepped aside to take a thorn from my foot,
And her litter vanished from my sight.
For one moment I was negligent and it travelled a hundred years' journey [1] from me."

CXXXII. MUDĀMĪ OF BADAKHSHĀN.[2]

He had good taste in poetry. He was for some time in the service of Mīrzā 'Azīz Kūka.[3] The following couplet is his :—

"My heart, thou sayest that a hundred discords have arisen on account of that graceful figure and lofty stature (of hers);
Thou sayest truly: from that one of lofty stature I have experienced many calamities."

Many have written verses on this theme, but they have travelled round about one another without progressing, and their verses are insipid. One writes as follows :—

"Thou sayest that calamity and strife have arisen in the world from her footsteps.[4]
Thou sayest truly. Verily calamities are from above." [5]

Another has written [6] :—

"Thou sayest that tumults have arisen on all sides in the city on account of thy graceful figure.

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[1] The text reads صد ساله را which does not make sense, as there is no substantive to be qualified by the adjectival expression صد ساله. I think the correct reading must be صد ساله ره, and I have translated accordingly.

[2] Mudāmī is mentioned neither in the *Āīn* nor in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

[3] *Vide* p. 388, note 1.

[4] قَدم (*qadam*) means 'a footstep.' The text has, and the metre requires, قدّم (*qaddam*), a word which does not exist in Persian. The letter د has been doubled by poetical license.

[5] There is a *double entendre* here which cannot be reproduced in translation. بالا means both 'on high' and 'the graceful figure and lofty stature' of a beautiful woman.

[6] The text omits لغيره both here and before the preceding couplet, though

Thou sayest truly. Thou hast a wonderful[1] figure, my
moon-like beauty."

One might say that all these poems are the tumults that are to arise at the last day.

(The following verses are by Mudāmī) :—

"My colour is sometimes as the flame of a candle in an orange-coloured lantern,
Or perchance like an autumn leaf blown on to the tulip from the north."

335 "When the account of his grief was finished,
He sealed it by dropping on it a tear."

CXXXIII. Mullā Maqṣūd of Qazvīn.[2]

He was one of the jovial poets of the age. He left a *dīvān*, properly arranged in alphabetical order. The following verses are by him :—

"In the condition of fidelity the dog of thy street has submitted to me.
Success has become subservient to me and the world wags in accordance with my desire,
All lovers have their glances fixed on thy beauty,
O king of beauty, thy face is my full moon."

"I planted in my heart the plant of desire for her,
But this rose-cutting has yielded me nothing but grief."

"I had some hope that I might one day hold her ringlets in my hand,

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it appears in both MSS. and serves to show that the two couplets are by others than Mudāmī, as they evidently are.

[1] There is again a pun here, which cannot be reproduced in translation. The word قیامت (*qiyāmat*) which literally means 'resurrection' or 'the day of resurrection' is used twice, first in the sense of 'tumults' and secondly in an adjectival sense,—'wonderful.'

[2] Mullā Maqṣūd is not mentioned either in the *Āīn* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*, as a poet.

Alas, that my precious life has been wasted in this hopeless[1]
desire!"

He also wrote the following *qaṣīdah* in imitation of Khwāja Salmān, and tacked on to it[2] the name of Qāẓi Yaḥyā of Qazvīn, the grandfather of Naqīb Khān[3]:—

"Once more the sky shivers with December's cold,
The sun has veiled his head in clouds fearing the wrath of the thunderbolt;
The sky once more rains arrows (of hail and snow) on the earth;
The earth has made water itself a breastplate against the arrow of Sagittarius;
The sea-monster, fearing the biting blasts of December,
Has placed on his head a helmet of bubbles hard as iron.
Once more, by reason of the abundance of snow and the intensity of the cold, 336
The earth has fallen a-trembling like a sea of mercury.

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[1] Literally 'twisted.' This is another untranslatable *double entendre*. The word has reference to the curling locks of the beloved.

[2] Literally, 'has added as a tail, or fringe.' The author means that Mullā Maqṣūd, having written his ode, added a few couplets as an encomium on Qāẓī Yaḥyā, probably with the object of obtaining a reward.

[3] *Vide* p. 148, note 3. His grandfather, Mīr Yaḥyā, was a well-known theologian and philosopher, who had acquired such extraordinary proficiency in the knowledge of history that he was acquainted with the date of every event which had occurred from the establishment of the Muḥammadan religion to his own time. He was at first patronized by Shāh Ṭahmāsp-i-Ṣafavī and was treated with such distinction that his enemies poisoned his patron's mind against him by representing that he and his son, Mīr 'Abdu-'l-Laṭīf, were the leading men among the *Sunnīs* of Qazvīn. The king ordered Mīr Yaḥyā and his sons to be imprisoned in Iṣfahān, and Mīr Yaḥyā accompanied the king's messenger thither and died there, after one year and nine months, in A.H. 962 (A.D. 1554-55) at the age of 77. He was the author of a historical compendium, the *Lubbu-'t-Tawārīkh*, composed in A.D. 1541. Mīr 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf, the father of Naqīb Khān, fled to Gīlān and afterwards, at the invitation of Humāyūn, went to Hindūstān, and arrived at court with his family just after Akbar had ascended the throne. He was appointed preceptor to Akbar. His son, Naqīb Khān, rose to be a commander of nine hundred in Akbar's, and fifteen hundred in Jahāngīr's, reign. Vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 417.

The dark surface of the earth is whitened, covered with an army of snow.
No black spot is to be found in the heart of the world,
For the surface of the earth is so contracted
That the crow can find no place for his foot thereon.[1]
On the lawns of the garden, instead of blossoms and verdure,
In the ice and the snow which have fallen only ermines[2] are to be found.
Once more trembling has fallen on the trees in the meadow.
Like me have they become thus restless from lack of livelihood.[3]
In this cold air my body quivers like a willow,
In its weakness it is sometimes at fever heat, sometimes in agony.
This morning a voice from heaven conveyed good news to my ear.
Saying, 'How long wilt thou suffer torments from the hardships of these days?
Take refuge from the tyranny of vicissitudes at that threshold
Which is as high as the threshold of the sky,
The threshold of the trustee of the sacred law, an account of a particle of whose virtues
Would not be contained in a hundred volumes or in a thousand books,
Like 'Alī and like Muḥammad in his qualities, Yaḥyā by name;
Since his perfection is manifest why should I distinguish him by titles?'"

Mullā Maqṣūd died in Āgra in A.H. 977 (A.D. 1569-70). His father, Mullā Fazlu-'llāh, also was one of those who deserve the

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[1] *i.e.* the ground is so cold that the crow fears to alight on it.

[2] The poet here uses two words سنجاب (*sinjāb*) and قاقم (*qāqum*), both of which mean 'ermine.' The ermine is compared with the whiteness of the snow.

[3] There is another untranslatable *double entendre* here. The word which I have translated by 'lack of livelihood' literally means 'leaflessness.'

title of man, and was held in reverence. He wrote the following 337
fragment :—

> " Faẓlī ! Enfold not thyself in the robe of existence as a bud is enfolded in its sheath,
> Wrinkle not thy forehead and trail not thy skirt in blood ;
> Be like the full-blown rose, and like the cypress
> Be free from the griefs of this world and humble not thyself before the base sky.

CXXXIV. MIḤNATĪ OF ḤIṢĀR.[1]

He was moderately fond of study and was in the college at Dihlī. He was afterwards, by the emperor's order, appointed *qāẓī* of Sirhind,[2] and received his poetical name of Miḥnatī from the emperor. In Sirhind he passed away from this house of toil,[3] the world.

The following verses are by him :—

> " I found in my path the print of her foot,
> Why should I not press my cheek against it ?
> I have found her place."

> " The folk have lost their hearts in meditating on her waist, slender as a hair ;
> I too, among them, have lost my broken heart."

CXXXV. MŪSAWĪ OF MASHHAD.[4]

His descent is indicated by his poetical name. He had a poetical turn of mind. The following verses are his :—

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[1] Miḥnatī is not mentioned as a poet either in the *Āīn* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*. Ḥiṣār is Ḥiṣār Fīrūza, chief town of the *sarkār* of the same name in the *ṣūba* of Dihlī, now the headquarters of the Ḥiṣār District in the Panjāb.

[2] Chief town of the *sarkār* of the same name in the *ṣūba* of Dihlī, now in the Patiāla State, in the Panjāb.

[3] This phrase has reference to Miḥnatī's *takhalluṣ* which is formed by the addition of the *yā-yi-nisbat* from the word محنت (*miḥnat*) ' toil.'

[4] Mūsawī is not mentioned as a poet in the *Āīn* or the *Ṭubaqāt*. From what Badāonī says of him here it is clear that he was one of the Mūsawī Sayyids of Mashhad, who trace their descent to 'Alī Mūsā Riẓā, the eighth *Imām* of the *Shī'ahs*.

"I know that in secret your glances are cast on me in my
affliction,
I know that thy pretended neglect of me is due only to
fear of strangers."

"Her eyes draw me in my affliction to perform her behests;
She casts towards me a glance suffused with wrath."[1]

338 CXXXVI. Khwāja Mu'az̤z̤am.[2]

He was the maternal uncle of the emperor, and was one of the sons of his holiness Shaikh Jām (may his tomb be hallowed). He was afflicted with insanity and mania to an extraordinary degree, so that he murdered his wife without any cause and was put to death on that charge in A.H. 971 (A.D. 1563-64), as has been mentioned in the record of the reign.[3] The following chronogram has been found for the date of that event :—

"The great Khwāja, by name Mu'az̤z̤am,
Slew his wife, and was himself slain
By the wrath of the emperor, Jalāl-i-dīn Akbar.

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[1] This is the gist of the second hemistich of the couplet, but the hemistich does not consist of a complete sentence and it would appear that Badāonī should have supplied the rest in by quoting further.

[2] *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 71. Badāonī, though he admits that Khwāja Mu'az̤z̤am deserved punishment, seems to blame Akbar for punishing him, and says that Mu'az̤z̤am always suffered on account of his near relationship to the emperor, quoting Arabic verses to the following effect :—

"Near relations are like scorpions in the harm which they do,
Be not deceived by either paternal or maternal uncle,
For grief is increased by the paternal uncle,
While the maternal uncle is destitute of all good qualities.

[3] *Vide* note above. Badāonī says (*loc. cit.*) 'on the day on which the emperor went to his house to give him advice and to warn him against the repetition of certain unbecoming actions which he had committed, the Khwāja, becoming aware of his approach, and either having doubts regarding his intentions or being attacked by one of those fits of madness to which he had long been subject, slew his wife. As he had thus become deserving of punishment, the emperor had him kicked and beaten and then had him ducked in water several times, and sent him to Gwāliyār, and in that prison he was freed from the bondage of his evil nature, and went to his reward.' This passage in vol. ii leaves it doubtful whether Mu'az̤z̤am died a natural or a violent death, but the passage above is quite explicit.

When I asked of him the year of his death
That man of auspicious qualities said, while he still lived,
‘Without the world-illumining face of that lovely one
I suffered at length by the greater martyrdom’.”[1]

This chronogram appears to have been composed by Mīr ‘Alā’u-d-daulah, the author of the *Tazkiratu-sh-Shu‘arā*.[2] The following opening couplet was composed by Khwāja Mu‘aẓẓam:—

“It is impossible for me, my soul, to recount to thee my heart’s anguish,
I suffer from this anguish to an extent which cannot be told.”

In quoting this opening couplet of the Khwāja’s I have simply followed Mīr ‘Alā’u-d-daulah. Otherwise, in spite of the following opening couplet by a master of poetry, I should have said that the Khwāja’s couplet was mere trash. The couplet of the master[3] is as follows:—

“Since I heard that I could call thy ruby lip my soul
A fire which I cannot describe has stricken my heart.”

CXXXVII. MAUZŪN.[4]

He is the son of Shaikh Pīr of Āgra, who wrote seven scripts well, and whom I met in Peshāwar in the reign of Salīm[5] Shāh. His son also was a capable youth and passably proficient in the 339 art of composing enigmas and in penmanship. He also played chess, both two-handed and four-handed, well. These few verses are quoted as an example of his style:—

“What profit is mine from the many colours of the flowers of spring

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[1] شهادتم اکبر But the sum of the letters is 973, not 971. It is possible that Mu‘aẓẓam was two years in Gwāliyār before he died or was put to death.

[2] *Vide* p. 239 and note 1.

[3] These words مطلع استاد این است are not in the text. I supply them from the MSS.

[4] Manzūn is not mentioned, either in the *Āīn* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*, as a poet.

[5] Islām or, by *imālah*, as here, Islīm, otherwise Salīm Shāh Sūr, son and successor of Shīr Shāh Sūr. *Vide* vol. i (trans. Ranking), p. 485 *et passim*.

Since my heart in thy absence finds no solace in any colour?
Even those who bear witness to the grief which, in my misery, I suffer, are afflicted with grief;
They are my blood-red tears, my pale cheeks, and my wakeful eyes."
"O thou, from whose cheek the moonlight has borrowed its brightness,
And in envy of whose beauty the sun burns!"

"Each arrow that thou shootest, my moonlike beauty with bow-like eyebrow,
Is as deeply embedded in my bones as the marrow of them.
The arrow which that beauty with bow-like eyebrows has shot at any heart
Has been a salve to its hidden wounds."

CXXXVIII. Muḥammad Yusuf.[1]

He was a handsome man who was born in Kābul and brought up in Hindūstān. In penmanship he was the pupil of As͟hraf K͟hān. He died in Gujarāt at the time of the siege of Sūrat[2] in A.H. 980 (A.D. 1572-73) in the prime of his youth. As͟hraf K͟han composed a hemistich which formed a chronogram giving the date of his death, and Mīr 'Alā'u-d-daulah completed the stanza, as follows:—

"Muḥammad Yūsuf, that residence of beauty,
Went from the world shedding tears from his eyes.
340 An honoured man gave this chronogram for the date of his death.
'Where is Yūsuf of Egypt, O ye honoured ones?'"[3]

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[1] Muḥammad Yūsuf is not mentioned in the *Āīn* or in the *Ṭabaqāt* as a poet.

[2] *Vide* vol. ii (text), p. 143.

[3] The reference is to the patriarch Joseph. There is something wrong about the chronogram. The whole hemistich is کجا شد یوسف مصرای عزیزان which gives the date 1164. Omitting the last two words the total is 1008, and omitting these and also the first word the total is 984,—still four years too many.

This rhyming of *ma'rūf* and *majhūl* is very strange.[1] The following ode, 'The Master of the House,' is by the above-mentioned Muḥammad Yūsuf:—

"Happy is he who has taken up his abode in the wine-shop,
And is seated by the tun with a cup and a measure,
It is he who has given to the beloved her languishing glances heavy with wine.
I am drunk with the languishing glances of those two narcissus-like eyes.
The owl found no well-peopled spot in this transitory world
And hence chose for its dwelling the corner of a ruin.
I said (to my love), 'Take up thy abode in my eyes,' but she answered coquettishly,
'Does anybody build a house in a channel through which floods flow?'
The comb has disordered thy locks,
May the hand of him who made that comb for thy locks be broken."

The following couplet is by him:—

"In thy absence I attempted in vain to take rest,
Disappointed by thy absence I took such rest as I could."

CXXXIX. MANẒARĪ OF SAMARQAND.[2]

He is a pleasing poet. He was at Agra in the service of Bairam Khān and designed an epic Book of Kings,[3] and completed the versification of several of the incidents to be included in it, 341 particularly the battle against Sikandar Sūr,[1] which contained an account of the valour of Muḥammad Ḥusain K͟hān.[2] He presented it to the K͟hān at Patyālī[3], and the K͟hān made some corrections in it and told him the whole story of the fight in proper order, from beginning to end. Manẓarī in one night, as it was the K͟hān's wish, corrected those three or four hundred couplets and read them at his *levée* the next morning, and received a notable reward. The following couplet occurs in that poem :—

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[1] The rhyme to which Badāonī objects is that of عزیزان (*'azīzān*) with ریزان, which latter word was pronounced in his day, and, by natives of India, is still pronounced *rēzān*. The *ma'rūf* sound is 'ī,' the *majhūl* 'ē.' Although the Persians have long abandoned the *majhūl* sounds and would now pronounce the latter word *rīzān* it is still considered inelegant, if not incorrect to rhyme a vocable which was always *ma'rūf* with one which was anciently *majhūl*, though the rhyme is perfectly good, both to the ear and to the eye. This defect in rhyme is called هزو (*hazv*).

[2] Manẓarī is not mentioned in the *Āīn* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

[3] شاہ نامہ (*Shahnāma*), *i.e.* a poem on the model of Firdausī's great epic, the *Shāhnāma*.

"The sound of his trumpet deafened the sky.
The chief was perplexed by his sudden attack."

The following opening couplet by him is very well known, and is often illuminated[4] :—

"In thy absence I am always destitute,
I am one who never enters thy thoughts."

The following *g͟hazal* is by him :—

"See the down growing on the moonlike cheek of that lovely silver-bodied one.
Both down and cheek are signs of the disturbances of the age of the moon.[5]
See a chain of dark ambergris drawn across the face of the moon ;
See a ringletlike violets on a cheek like a moist rose-petal ;
See her heart-ravishing eyes and her lashes that shoot arrows,
See perils upon perils in the road of love."

This last couplet is the best. As for the rest it is evident that he toiled hard at them to no purpose but to weary our ears.

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[1] *Vide* vol. i (trans. Ranking), p. 542 *et passim*.

[2] *Vide* p. 6, note 4.

[3] On the Ganges, in the estate of Muḥammad Ḥusain K͟hān.

[4] *i.e.* illuminated on cardboard, as a wall decoration.

[5] Each of the seven planets Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, the sun and the moon, as reckoned by the Musalmāns, was to have an age or cycle. These cycles have all been completed except the last, that of the moon, which began with the creation of Adam. It is the worst of all the cycles and has been and is to be a period of bloodshed and tumults.

CXL. MUDĀMĪ OF HAMADĀN.[1]

In Hindūstān he was known as Ḥaidarī, and he wrote good *qaṣīdahs* in praise of Mīr Muḥammad, Khān-i-Kalān.[2] His 342 discourtesy led him constantly into quarrels with everybody, and on this account he suffered much molestation.

The following verses are by him :—

"Majnūn did not know that a lover is disgraced in the world,
I am disgraced by love and devoted to being a lover."

"The new moon of 'Īd appears like a key
To open the lock of the wine-shop of the cupbearer on the evening of 'Īd."

"The lovely one with the green veil[3] has once more appeared from behind the curtain,
The bud laughs like the dawn, and the sun appears."

"I have on my breast, from my beloved's sword,
Lines[4] like those ruled on paper with a ruler."

CXLI. MUQĪMĪ OF SABZAVĀR.[5]

He was in the service of the Khān-i-A'ẓam.[6] He had a jovial disposition. After the conquest of Gujarāt he returned to his own country. The following verses are by him :—

"Happy is he whom she rates as her dog!
Although I am not so rated she sometimes thinks on me."

"We are lovers, and the end of the street of calamity is our refuge,
The world is full of the turmoil and din of our shouts.

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[1] Mudāmī is not mentioned as a poet in the *Āīn* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*.
[2] Elder brother of Ataga Khān, *vide* p. 308, note 2.
[3] The spring.
[4] Literally *alifs*.
[5] Muqīmī is not mentioned as a poet in the *Āīn* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*.
[6] Mīrzā 'Azīz Kūka. *Vide* p. 388 and note 2.

We dwell wherever grief and toil are heaviest,
Our place is wherever affliction and anguish are greatest.
Despite all the misery which we endure in our grief for her
She who is anxious concerning our hereafter desires our death.
343 We wander in the desert of grief for her, and the only shade that we have
Is that of our black lot which accompanies us in such days as these.
Thou didst say to Muqīmī coquettishly, 'I care for nobody.'
Aye, aye; with thy beauty how shouldst thou care for me?"

CXLII. ——— [1]

He was the son of Qāẓī Abū-l-Ma'ālī of the place of pilgrimage.[2] He was a melancholy youth who had adopted the *Ṣūfī* doctrine of annihilation [3] and was after the fashion of his father. He died of haemorrhoids in Lāhor.

He composed an opening couplet in imitation of an opening couplet by Shaikh Sa'dī (may his tomb be hallowed).

(Shaikh Sa'dī's couplet).

"Infidels, what do you expect from a lifeless graven image?
Worship awhile that Idol which has life."

(The poet's couplet).

"The dead are envious when thou stretchest out thy hand for thy sword
Saying, 'Death by that sword is the privilege of him who is alive!'"

---

[1] No name or takhalluṣ is entered here, either in the MSS. or in the text. The passages which follow are printed in the text as a continuation of the life of Muqīmī, but they clearly refer to another poet, of whom I can unfortunately find no mention in any book to which I have access.

[2] *Vide* p. 210. The 'place of pilgrimage' seems to have been Bukhārā, so called probably because it was the burial-place of Sayyid Jalāl, seventh descendant of Imām-'Alī Naqī Alhādī.

[3] *Vide* p. 42 and note 1.

CXLIII. MAḤWĪ.[1]

Shortly after his arrival in Hindūstān he was in the service of the K͟hānk͟hānān, son of Bairam K͟hān, and then went on a pilgrimage to the glorious city of Makkah. In the composition of quatrains he has no equal. The following quatrains are his :—

"So long as the ringlet falls over the moonlike face.
So long as the down on the cheek is as an army to the king of beauty.
Even if my house is built of bricks from the sun
The days of me in my wretchedness will pass in black misery."

"Once I knew not sorrow of the soul and the heart,
Once I knew not what it was to weep tears of fire ; 344
Now thou hast left neither name nor trace of me,
O love ! I did not know that thou wert thus."

Maḥwī, who has wandered far from the street of wisdom,
Has become a greater wanderer than a thousand Majnīms.
I saw from afar that lost one, wandering far from thee,
In a wilderness where the wind entered, into his blood."

---

[1] The name of this poet was Mīr Mug͟hīṣ. He is thus described in the *Ṭabaqāt* : " He is a free-hearted and accomplished man. He arrived in Gujarāt and entered the service of Mīrzā K͟hān the K͟hānk͟hānān, and, helped and encouraged by him, set forth on a pilgrimage to the Ḥijāz." In the *Āīn* (i, 585) he is thus described, " Maḥwī of Hamadān. His name is Mug͟hīṣ. He tries to change the four mud walls of this worldly life into stone walls, and is intoxicated with the scent of freedom." According to the *Ma'āṣir-i-Raḥīmī* he was born in Asadābād (Hamadān) and went, when twelve years old, to Ardabīl, where he studied for four years at the *Āstāna-yi-Ṣafāviyya*. From youth he was remarkable for his contentment and piety. He spent twenty years at holy places, chiefly at Najaf, Mas͟hhad, Karbalā, and Hirāt. He embarked at Bandar Jarūn for India, and after leaving the K͟hānk͟hānān's service went back to 'Irāq, where the author of the *Ma'āṣir* saw him at Kās͟hān, He visited Najaf and Karbalā and returned to Hamadān, where he died in A.H. 1016 (A.D. 1607-08). It will be observed that the *Ma'āṣir* says nothing of his pilgrimage to Makkah. According to the *Ātas͟hkada-yi-Āzarī* he is often called Nīs͟hāpūrī, because he was long in that town.

CXLIV. Maẕharī of Kas͟hmīr.[1]

He has composed a *dīvān*. He now holds a post in the imperial service in his own country. The quality of his poetry may be estimated from the following couplets, which are, however, a very small selection :—

> " The good fortune of thy beauty has prospered thy affairs,
> Else thou wouldst not have known how to manage affairs successfully."

There is also this opening couplet by a master of poetry (from which Maẕharī's couplet is evidently copied).

> " Thou hast not understood what a firm covenant is,
> Thou hast not understood what it is to be constant."

(The following verses are by Maẕharī) :—

> " May I be a sacrifice for that mirror which the enslaver of my heart
> Keeps in her room, turned towards the rose-walks of the garden."

> " Maẕhar, be in the world as those that have no share in it,
> And as for the rose, be, like the nightingale, satisfied with singing to it.
> Satisfy thyself with the beauty of the world by looking on it,
> **345** Be, like the strangers, a guest who is content to gaze."

CXLV. S͟haik͟h Muḥammad of Dihlī.[2]

He was unique in this age for his high lineage and his acquired and inherited accomplishments. After many years of such acquaintance as can exist between men at a distance from one another, I was so fortunate as to have a chance meeting with him in the neighbourhood of the town of Bārī[1] in the year in which the victorious army set out for the conquest of the fortress of Citor; but owing to the shortness of the time at our disposal our interview and conversation, in spite of the great desire which I had to prolong them, did not last an hour, and he went on and I returned, but when I first set eyes on him I became aware of the nobility of his character. Although, considering his dignity, this mention of him among a string of poets is scarcely gracious, yet, as he sometimes amused himself with poetry, this opening couplet is quoted as a memorial of him :—

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[1] Maẕharī is thus described in the *Āīn* (i, 584), ' He made poems from his early youth, and lived long in 'Irāq. From living with good people he acquired excellent habits.' Dāg͟histānī says that in 'Irāq he was in company with Muḥtas͟ham and Waḥs͟hī. After his return to India he was employed by Akbar as Mīr Baḥrī of Kas͟hmīr, which was evidently the employment to which Badāonī refers. He had turned *S͟hī'ah*, and, as his father was a *Sunnī*, they used to abuse each other. His poems are said to contain several satires on his father. Maẕharī died in A.H. 1018 (A.D. 1609-10). The poet cannot be the Maẕharī mentioned in vol. ii (text), p. 292, or Badāonī would have written more warmly of him here.

[2] I have not found elsewhere any mention of S͟haik͟h Muḥammad of Ḍihlī.

"If, in the day of my grief for thee, I should choose to exercise patience,
Since I have no choice in the matter say what I should do."

CXLVI. Nuvīdī of Turbat.[2]

He composed a *dīvān*, and also a *tarjī'-band*[3] satirizing Kucik Beg, the accountant of Bairam Khān, the letters of which a hundred storms like that which occurred in the days of Noah would not wash from the pages of this age. The following few couplets are by him[4] :—

"O thou, in whose glorious days time glories,
Khān, son of a Khān, chief, and high officer of kings, Bairām!

---

[1] A *pargana* town in the *sarkār* and *ṣūba* of Āgra.

[2] Nuvīdī is not mentioned in the *Āīn*, and the only notice of him in the *Ṭabaqāt* is that he was for a long time at court.

[3] A poem composed of strophes, each consisting of any number of couplets from five to eleven. The two hemistiches of the first couplet of each strophe rhyme together and the remaining couplets rhyme with the first. At the end of each strophe is a refrain consisting of one couplet, the two hemistichs of which rhyme together, and which is the same throughout the poem.

[4] The verses which follow are certainly a satire on Kucik Beg, but they do not seem to be from the *tarjī'-band* mentioned, for they are not in the form of a *tarjī'band*.

The steed of perception cannot traverse the valley of thy understanding.
The noose of imagination cannot reach the battlements of the palace of thy glory.
I have a word to say: I will expound it unto the Nawwāb.
I have a difficulty: I will represent it to his servants.
346 Thou hast given the high post of accountant
To Kucik Beg. Say for what reason, O boast of mankind.
Thou art perhaps ignorant of his reprehensible acts,
Although inquiry into the characters of servants is a duty incumbent on governors.
He was an infamous boy, and conceited, a wine-bibbing libertine.
A lad ever hankering after gold, soft, and self-willed.
His business was the service [1] of Khwāja Amīr Beg the *Vazīr*.
Factor to the family of His Highness Mīrzā Bahrām.[2]
Other things are known about him from a certain source.
But I feel ashamed to reveal them before his honour the Khān.
To cut a long story short and to make an end quickly I will come to my tale.
And I will tell a tale regarding that mutilated [3] wretch.
Wherever he has been his conduct has been such
That he has brought upon himself the hatred of all, both gentle and simple.

---

[1] The word is apparently intended to bear a very ill meaning here.

[2] The reference is obviously to Mīrzā Muzaffar Husain, son of Bahrām Mīrzā, son of Shāh Isma'īl-i-Ṣafavī. He was a commander of five thousand and had Sambhal in *jāgīr*. The people in his *jāgīr* preferred complaints against his grasping factors, or collectors, and Muzaffar, annoyed at this, applied for leave to go to Makkah. Akbar granted his request, but Muzaffar repented of his resolve, and was reinstated in his *jāgīr*. New complaints were preferred and the *jāgīr* was resumed, Muzaffar receiving an allowance in cash in lieu of it. The poet's object in referring to this is to show that Kucik Beg was educated in a very bad school.

[3] بی اندام Steingass gives the meaning of this word as ‘ out of proportion, but it is clearly intended to bear a much worse meaning here, and I have accordingly translated it more literally.

Oh on thy leprous body,' thus pray to God,
Both morning and evening, all the inhabitants of the heavens,
May there fall fever, colic, haemorrhoids, consumption, and dropsy,
Measles, intestinal worms, epilepsy, and delirium.
Then when thou haltest weak and feeble, seeking a cure,
May all the physicians prescribe for thee the following diet,
Simiae vomitum, decem dierum catuli stercora, **347**
Ursi penem, felis caudam, et stercora sicca quibus calefiunt hypocausta.
Happy will that day be when thou art griped by colic, for which
The great physicians will prescribe an enema,
And the forefoot of an ass, the foot of a camel, the horn of a goat.
The scalp of a bear, the head of a mule, and the teeth of a hog.' "

He could also be abusively satirical in prose as the following story will show. One day when weary [1] he was seated on an old felt cushion and said to me before the court, 'Dog, dost thou eat filth before me?' I said, 'Surely it is lawful for any [2] dog to eat filth before you.' However, as Nuvīdī had but one eye I have closed my eyes to his baseness,[3] and if I have recounted his faults it was only because the road was opened to me by the author of the original *Tazkirah*,[4] Mīr 'Alā'u-d-daulah; and although the recording of obscene language and the reckoning up of faults is not the custom of the author of this Selection, yet in this instance, with the object of indulging the love of a jest and keeping

[1] وا مانده (*vā-mānda*). The expression may possibly refer to the felt cushion, in which case it will mean, 'cast off.'

[2] کدام (*kudām*) is in Persian an interrogative pronoun, but here Badāonī clearly uses it, as is sometimes done in India, and always in Afghānistān, as an indefinite pronoun.

[3] In India a one-eyed man is supposed to be necessarily and unavoidably base, and therefore, as he cannot help himself, to be to some extent excused.

[4] *Vide supra* p. 239, no. 1.

up the merriment of the entertainment, I have blindly and exactly copied the passage from the original ; and I hope that the clear-sighted men of this time will regard what they have seen as unseen and what I have done as though it had never been done, and will wink at my fault and my shame, and pass by it and pardon me, for 'Satire in speech is as salt in food' is a proposition accepted by all learned and well-informed men, and although some people, falsifying the text, read, instead of 'Satire,' '*Syntax*[1] in speech,' the *Maqāmāt*[2] of Ḥarīrī clearly show that the first, and not the second, is the correct reading.

The following few verses are from Nuvīdī's *dīvān*, but I am not certain whether they are by this Nuvīdī, or by another[3] poet with the same poetical name :—

"I still have thy arrow, which I have had in my heart for an age,
I still have the plant of desire for thee which I received from thee ;
348 I still have the fetter which at the very first
I, poor and distraught,
Received from that Lailā-like beauty with the musky tresses.[4]
Though my eyes have become dim from weeping,
I retain the picture[5] of thee
In that same form which has ever been reflected in the mirror of my heart.
Take my hand, love, for an age.
My foot has been held in the valley of love's madness in the mire caused by my tears, as it was always held.
I, Nuvīdī, still have that heart like a bird struck by the arrow of her glance

---

[1] By the substitution of النحو (*An-naḥwu*) for الهجو (*al-hajwu*) which is done by the alteration of one letter and the displacement of one dot.

[2] The 'assemblies' of Ḥarīrī, a very famous work in Arabic.

[3] *Vide infra* Nos. CLII and CLVIII.

[4] The text has شمائل (*shamā'il*) 'qualities.' I prefer سلاسل, which is the reading of both MSS.

[5] Literally 'idea.'

Which I had long ago, rolling in dust and blood like a bird half slain.

Another ode.

"Longing for thy ringlet has made me restless,
I am at death's door. O come to my help!
I could endure thy cruelty all my life, but
Thy sitting with a stranger I cannot endure.
I restrain myself from weeping at the end of thy street
For I fear that the flood of my tears would sweep me away from the end of thy street.
Not for the twinkling of an eye does the restless longing for thy ringlet
Permit me to sleep during the night of absence from thee.
Nuvīdī, since my heart has become united [1] with grief for thee,
The confusion of all material things has left my remembrance."

Another ode.

"Though I die miserably from the ceaseless grief which is mine
I will make to the stranger no complaint of my misery.
If in love's delirium I declared to thee
The grief of my heart, pardon me, in thy mercy.
Nuvīdi wished to declare the grief of his heart to thee, **349**
But when he saw thy face he forgot his grief."

Another ode.

"Before thy arrow is drawn from my wounded heart
My grief-worn life will leave me a hundred times.
Thy heart-piercing arrow has entered my wounded breast
With ease, but will with difficulty be drawn thence.
To the end of her street I, helpless in my weakness.
Go a hundred times, hoping to see her come out but once.
O Nuvīdī, from within thy patched woollen robe
If thou art a Musalmān why does the idolator's sacred thread appear?"

---

[1] This word جمع (*jam*ʻ) might also be translated 'contented.'

A couplet.

"Thou hast no thought for the next world, nor for this,
Nuvidī, I know not how thou art employed."

CXLVII. Nis͟hānī.[1]

He is Maulānā 'Alī Aḥmad, the son of Maulānā Ḥusain Naqs͟hī of Dihlī, the seal-cutter, who was a learned man, saintly in religion, and was the instructor of the eldest prince.[2] Both father and son attained the greatest proficiency in this art (of seal-cutting), but especially the Maulānā named above ('Alī Aḥmad) whose own engraved seal is the exemplar of the age. Coins of which the dies have been cut by him are taken as talismans and relics to 'Irāq, K͟hurāsān and Transoxiana. He is endowed with the accomplishments of learning and with such perfections as a man can possess, but this lesser accomplishment and mercenary art (of seal-cutting) has obscured all his great natural gifts, and for this reason he has not received that training and that position 350 in military affairs and in the service of the state to which he is entitled. Had he attained the honourable rank which was his due he would have been in no way inferior to any of the more famous *Amīrs*.[3] He is deeply read in astronomy and natural philosophy, is an ardent seeker after knowledge, and is marvellously proficient in all scripts, and in prose composition and orthography he is unrivalled.

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[1] Nis͟hānī is not mentioned in the *Āīn* or in the *Ṭabaqāt* as a poet, but he is mentioned more than once in the *Āīn* as an engraver. Abū-l-Faẓl says of him, 'at this day, Maulānā 'Alī Aḥmad of Dihlī, who has not his equal in any country, cuts different kinds of letters in steel in such a manner as equals the copy slips of the most skilful caligraphers. He holds the rank of commander of a hundred,' and again 'Maulānā 'Alī Aḥmad of Dihlī who, according to all caligraphers, stands unsurpassed as a steel engraver, so much so that his engravings are taken as copies. His *nasta'līq* is charming, but he writes also other characters well. He learned the trade from his father, S͟haik͟h Ḥusain, studied the manner of Maulānā Maqṣūd, and eventually surpassed all' *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 22, 53.

[2] Sulṭān Salīm, afterwards the emperor Jahāngīr. Ḥusain was probably his writing master.

[3] The meaning of this sentence according to the tenses used by Badāonī is, 'Having attained an honourable rank he is in no way inferior to the famous *Amīrs*,' but I believe that I have accurately rendered the meaning of Badāonī who has just been complaining that 'Alī Aḥmad did not receive the promotion which was his due

Had he been a man of one pursuit many examples of his flowing verse would have been left on the page of time. He sometimes exercises his brilliant intellect and keen perception in the composition of verse, and has chosen a poetical name in consonance with his occupation. Since from the early days of my youth to the time of writing this selection, which is the period of my middle age,[1] or rather of my old age, I have been bound to him, to a greater degree than can be imagined, by the bonds of intimacy, confidence, friendship, and companionship, it is not unfitting that I should quote with appreciation, and at some length,[2] some of his profitable pieces of verse and prose. The following couplets are from his poems :—

" Until the down grew above thy life-giving lip
Masīḥ alone was there. Now that it has grown Khiẓr is in company with Masīḥ."[3]

" The censor yesterday broke the wine-jar, and poured forth the fiery water which it contained.
He gave my dust to the wind, and poured my blood on the dust."

" The wind brought news to my sad heart of my beloved.
Alas, no trust can be placed in the word of the wind."

" Sleep comes on me each night like a robber, my eyes become moist.

---

[1] كهولت (*kuhūlat*) literally 'laziness,' 'love of ease.'

[2] I am not quite sure of the correctness of this translation. The two words used are اسباغ (*isbāgh* and اشباع (*ishbā'*). The latter, which is an Arabic verbal noun in the measure افعال means 'satiating,' 'filling up,' 'dyeing.' I think that Badāonī means by it that he proposes to quote at length.

[3] The special characteristic of our Lord, according to Muḥammadan belief, has already been mentioned, *vide supra*, p. 224, note 2. The meaning of this couplet is that the lip merely gave life until the down grow above it, after which it gave perpetual life.

But, when sleep sees that my heart still wakes in its grief
for me, sleep quickly flees."

In imitation of this couplet I composed the following :—

" Fired by a hundred hopes I send a messenger to that cruel
one,
I flee to God for refuge from the hour in which he will
return from her without hope."

351 (The following couplet is Nis̲h̲ānī's) :—

" Since my bosom was wounded by the arrow of thy cruelty
I have not treated it with ointment, nor have I dressed the
wound."

At the time when Gujarāt was conquered he engraved a coin-die for the emperor, and submitted it to him with the following chronogram :—

" O king! The coinage of Gujarāt is now struck in thy
name,
May the shadow of thy justice be over the head[1] of that
country.
Happy will be that moment when thou wilt ask of me the
date (of its conquest)
And I shall reply, 'May the coinage of Gujarāt be auspi-
cious!' "[2]

The following couplets are also by him :—

" It is a matter of life and death with me, and the beloved
has not come.
My life, which is valuable to me, has become of no account."

" I have a wounded heart and the lovely ones bear salt (wit)
on their lips;
This wound of mine will not be healed till eternity."

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[1] MS. (A) has تبارک (*tabāruk*) which neither rhymes nor makes good sense. MS. (B) has تباراک (*tabārāk*) which is nonsense and neither scans nor rhymes. I have adopted بتارک (*bi-tārak*), the reading of the text.

[2] سکهٔ گجرات مبارک بادا. The sum of the values of the letters is 980. Gujarāt was formally annexed on Sha'bān 14, A.H. 980 (Dec. 20, 1572) ; *vide* vol. ii (text), p. 142.

"Outward form and inward truth are not united in every king,
Akbar the emperor is the king both of outward form and inward truth.
He is the emperor at whose court, when he holds it,
King after king falls down in fear before the doorkeeper's staff."

"The heart in my bosom is not broken by the stone of calamities
For the glass of my (heart) is made of a diamond."

When the imperial camp was on its way to Kas͟hmīr for the first time[1] and I, having taken leave, went to Basāwar,[2] my birthplace, Nis͟hānī wrote the following verses, and sent them to me 352 from that country (Kas͟hmīr). God knows whether he wrote (the same verses) with the same warmth of feeling to several others, and pleased them also, but until another claimant appears I have made the verses my own.

A Maṡnavī.

"Whilst thou art far from me, O moon that illuminest my heart,
I sleep not at night and have no ease during the day,
My tears, rose-red with blood, trickle adown my cheek
Like tulips blooming in a field of saffron;
My eyelashes are tinged with the blood of my heart
Like branches of red coral showing their heads above the ocean.

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[1] This was, apparently, the occasion on which Badāonī, in 1577, left the court at Rewārī, having received five months' leave of absence. He overstayed his leave by seven months and was never again received into favour. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 252.

[2] The text has 'Pes͟hāwār,' which was certainly not Badāonī's birthplace. The correct reading is 'Basāwar.' According to Mr. Blochmann (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 104, note 2), Badāonī was born at Badāon, but this is a mistake. He was born in Toda, but was taken soon after his birth to Basāwar, where he was circumcised (*vide* vol. ii, text, 236), and of which he always speaks as his birthplace.

Owing to thy absence the blood lodged in my heart, every moment.
Rises to my neck like liquid in a bottle;
Every breath burns with the fire of grief
And at each respiration throws forth from my bosom a flaming banner.
Now my eyes contend with the blood of my heart
And shed, instead of tears, sparks of fire.
These are not eyelashes that encircle my eyes,
They are the soot of my heart's fire around its chimney.
O thou of angelic disposition, from this sad journey
Which has carried the lives of my dear friends away on the breeze
Such languor has become the lot of my body and my heart
That I pay no heed to my body or my heart.
My body is disturbed by the pains of fever,
353 My heart within it is like fire in a furnace."

In reply to that boastful poem [1] of Shaikh Faiẓi's, which begins:—

> "Thanks be to God that the love of beautiful ones is my guide.
> I am of the religion of Brahmans and of the faith of the fire-worshippers."

He wrote a *qaṣīdah*, from which the following couplets are excerpted:—

> "Thanks be to God that I am a follower of the faith of the prophet,
> The love of the prophet and of the race of the prophet is my guide.
> I am disgusted with Brahmans, prayer-gongs, and Ahriman,[2]
> I am a denier of the faith of monk, priest, and fire-angel,[3]

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[1] *Vide* p. 417.

[2] The Principle of Evil.

[3] Aẓar (آذر), the angel who presides over fire.

I believe in the day of resurrection, and in the resurrection of the dead,
I am hopeful of Paradise, of *ḥūrīs*, and of *Kauṣar.*[1]
O envious one, glance not towards me with contempt
Although in outward semblance I may appear contemptible.
I am a fierce flame, pass not near me.[2]
Since thou art not the Friend [3] set not thy foot on my fire.
Under my seal is the face of the whole earth.
I in this age am like the seal, with my head hidden within the collar of my robe. [4]
From east to west I am tempered with perfection,
From pole to pole I am the axis of every country.
The convex surface of the sky of excellence, even in the eyes of my enemy,[5]
Will never fit the concave surface which is bounded by my *ego.*
Though I dwell on the earth like an imaginary point
I am still the centre round which the spherical sky revolves.
The hand of fate has drawn, with the compass of time,
The circles of the seven heavens around my book. **354**
Although I am less than the fixed point which is the centre
I am nevertheless more boundless than the circumference.
If my enemy performs a thousand of the magical tricks of Sāmirī [6]

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[1] A river in Paradise whence all the other rivers derive their source.

[2] This hemistich and the one which precedes it have been carelessly omitted from the text. I have supplied them from the MSS.

[3] Abraham, 'the Friend of God.'

[4] *i.e.* as a seal has its head hidden in the wax when it is pressed on it.

[5] The 'enemy' is Shaikh Faiẓī. I have been unable to translate literally this hemistich and the one which follows it, as a literal translation would not give the sense, which is that the poet's intellect is more spacious than the sky.

[6] A great magician, the maker, according to the Musalmāns, of the golden calf which the Iraelites worshipped. Vide *Qur'ān* c. xx.

I, like the serpent of the Speaker,[1] will overpower him in
a minute."

He wrote the following couplet in praise of the prophet :—

" The seal of thy finality has broken the seals of old
And has introduced in its device a new and fresh design."

The following verses are selected from one of his poems concerning one of the great ones among those of our kind, ingenious in oppression[2] :—

" How long wilt thou boast saying, ' In magic
I am a Sāmirī, a Sāmirī, a Sāmirī ' ?[3]
Every breath of mine is one of the miracles of 'Īsa,
A flame of light from the bush of Moses.[4]
In eloquence I am the phoenix of the age,
The teacher of all the eloquent.
Each breath of mine deprives magic itself of patience (in
enduring its inferiority).
Each speech of mine is magic that would deceive angels.
I am the king of the kingdom of omniscience,
I am the wise man of the region of sublime realities ;
I am the jeweller who values the chain of rhetoric,
I am the assayer of the coin of eloquence.
All this am I. To-day, in this contest,
Thou dost but take a flame of fire on thy tongue.
Boast not that thou art the discoverer of spiritual truths,
Thou art no candle, let not the machinery of thy tongue be
too well greased.
O thou who art formed of flame, of jewels of fine water,

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[1] كليم (*Kalīm*) for كليم الله (*Kalīmu-'llāh*) 'the speaker with God,' *i.e.* Moses. The reference is of course to Aaron's rod, Ex. vii, 9. 10. In the *Qur'ān* the rod is said to be that of Moses فَأَلْقَى عَصَاهُ فَإِذَا هِيَ ثُعْبَانٌ مُّبِينٌ 'wherefore he (Moses) cast down his rod, and behold, it became a visible serpent.' *Qurān* c. vii.

[2] Shaikh Faiẓī.

[3] A hemistich from one of Faiẓī's poems.

[4] The reference is, of course, to the burning bush, Exodus iii, *Qur'ān*, xxvii. 7-13.

Make no boast, since thou hast not even dust in thy pouch.
Although thy mind has knocked at the door of sense
No new conceit has fallen on our ears.
That which thou sayest has been said by others,
The pearls which thou stringest have been strung by others.
For the house of verse which thou hast adorned
Thou hast borrowed both the water and the clay from others.
The painted ceiling which is in this house
Has its colours from a stranger's pencil.
Thy wit is like that of a gardener
Who lays out his garden with plants taken from others.
The verdure in that garden is from another lawn,
Each beautiful flower that blooms there is from another garden;
Each bud of it, though it be life-cherishing,
Is sprung from the heart's blood of another than thee;
The unfruitful willow which rears its head
Has drawn its leaves from that seed already decorated with designs of trees.[1]
Its freshness is from no rain which thou hast bestowed on it,
But is from the sweat of the brow of thy friends.
How long wilt thou burn with desire for the money of others?
How long wilt thou glue thy eyes to the property of others?
Collect not the cash of those who foster eloquence,
Fill not thy pouch with the gold of others.
Turn thy thoughts from the drink of others,
Drink water from thine own fountain.
If thou be K͟hiẓr, where is thy water of life?
If thou be sugarcane, where is thy sweet branch?
Like a date-palm thou raisest thy head to the sky,
But thou givest no fruit but dry date-stones.

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[1] *i.e.* Faiẓī merely sowed the seed which had been raised by others.

The cypress whose head brushes the sky,
Is void of all flavour of fruit.
Why all this vaunting of thine own eloquence?
Why all this ridicule of a heart-broken one like me?
If I from shame open not my mouth
Do not attribute my silence to folly.
My breast does not contain a stone as does a ripe date,
I am like the oyster-shell, full of pearls, but close my
 lips.
If I release my tongue from its bonds
The eloquent will refrain from opening their lips.
Do not cast gibes at me as Satan did at Adam.
Consider my state and refrain from speech.
I am a Sāmirī, and can, by the power of my spells
And magical power, bring into existence a puppet form.
I can throw Venus and the moon into turmoil,
I can throw Hārūt's[1] magic scroll into his well.
I am all this,—a magician who is magic's self,
From whose words magic has been spread abroad.
I, who am famous for my words of magic,
Am myself the sky, the moon, and Venus.
Sāmirīs are in every curl of my hair,
Babylons are in the well of my magic.

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[1] Hārūt and Mārūt were two angels who, having expressed their surprise at the wickedness of men, were sent down to Bābīl (Babylon) to be subjected to the temptations to which men were exposed. There they learnt the magic of the Babylonians. Zuhrah (the planet Venus), or, according to others, a beautiful female of human kind, appeared before them with a complaint against her husband. Both fell in love with her and attempted to persuade her to admit them to her embraces. She flew up to heaven, and the angels followed her, but were not admitted. On the intercession of a pious man they were permitted to choose whether they would expiate their sin in time or in eternity. They chose the former, and are suspended, head downwards, in a well near Babylon until the day of judgment. If a man desires to learn magic he may go to them and hear their voices, though he cannot see them. This explains the reference to Venus. Nis͟hānī means to say that he is so accomplished as a magician that he has nothing to learn from Hārūt, and could afford to throw the angel's magic scroll back to him in his well.

The wealth which springs from this work is mine, to my heart's desire, 356
The coin of this kingdom is struck in my name.
Learn from my speech the beauties of style.
Have no false shame: lay hold of a master's skirt.
He who comes as a true disciple to his master
Gathers in both worlds the treasure of happiness.
Not one line of thy verse is correct.
Thy verses are the laughing-stock of the eloquent.
Although nobody has told thee this to thy face
And nobody rakes up thy faults before thee,
Yet thy detractors, in thy absence,
Delight the meetings of eloquent men;
When thy verses are quoted among them
They pick out thy errors one by one.
They praise thy poetry to thy face
And curse and abuse thee behind thy back.
Thou art a friend of none and hast none for thy friend.
Thou hast, alas, no bosom friend to sympathize with thee,
To show thee what thy faults are
Or what it is (in thy verse) that thy auditors criticize."

When I was writing this memoir and asked Nis̲h̲ānī for some of his verses as a memorial of him he wrote me the following letter:—

"Having made the jewels of the mines of holy poverty and humility and the gems of the oceans of despondency and restlessness, which the jewellers of the workshop of yearning and the ocean rangers of the handicraft of taste have washed with the limpid water of sincerity and threaded on the string of supplication, a sacrifice to the joy-giving footsteps of that incomparable one of this age, that miracle of the mercy of Providence, whose heart, with its knowledge of hidden mysteries, is as a world-displaying cup[1] to prudent searchers after truth, and the mirror of whose mind is the astrolabe of the astronomers of the Path, I humbly represent to those who are admitted to his heavenly assembly, that gathering where angels sit, swearing by God and 357 by the honour of God (He is blessed and exalted!), that by the blessing of the consideration which has been bestowed by that incomparable and unequalled Being on the leisure time of this humble one, by asking him to collect his scattered scribblings, I desire to give a hundred praises for the favour which he has shown to me. I am writing for his servants two fragments, one of prose composition, and the other of *maṣnavīs, et caetera*, and have half finished the work. Please God, I shall pack them up and despatch them to-morrow or the day after. For the present I have sent several couplets from that *maṣnavī* in the opening couplet of which the hemistich, 'I am a Sāmirī, a Sāmirī, a Sāmirī,'[1] occurs. Pray be pleased to correct it and to set aside what may be fit for reproduction. May you remain in health."

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[1] The reference is to the cup of Jams̲h̲īd which, according to Eastern fabulists, represented the whole world. In MS. (A) this passage referring to Badāonī's qualities of heart and head is reproduced again in Nis̲h̲ānī's

Among his letters was the following regarding the emperor's seal with its die containing the names of his majesty's great ancestors as far as the lord of the (fortunate) conjunction (Tīmūr), which he wrote and sent to me.[2]

"O outstripper of the swift runners of the subtleties of sciences in difficulties arising in the assemblies of the noble and the learned, shooter of the arrows of boundless knowledge from the bows of perfections against the globes of the hearts of high and low, striker of the disavowing ordinances with the swords of brilliant proofs, and opener of the doors of the obscurities of truths with the keys of convincing arguments; how art thou in this age, on every day of which people of penetration have known the signification of 'on that day shall a man fly from his brother and his mother and his father?'[3] Verily the object of the gaze of the aspirations

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third letter to Badāonī, *vide infra*, 492. All the complimentary epithets and similes in this letter are applied to Badāonī. They are even more fulsome than is usual in Indian letters.

[1] *Vide supro* p. 486.

[2] The following letter is in Arabic.

[3] يَوْمَ يَفِرُّ الْمَرْءُ مِنْ اَخِيهِ وَ اُمِّهِ وَ اَبِيهِ *Qur'ān* lxxx, 34, 35.

of the people of this age is the defects of others. Verily the brethren of this age are searchers after the faults of others, and they do not regard their own faults; and this is owing to the hardness of their hearts, and the dulness of their hearing, and the 358
dimness of their sight. 'Their hearts and their ears hath God sealed up and over their eyes is a covering.'[1] How, therefore, should they know their own affairs, much less those of their brethren? And they are excused for they are led astray into this error. And tell me of thyself, of thy soul which is angelic in its disposition, in its goodness and purity, and, like the sun, diffusing rays and bright light, incomparable in natural and acquired talents, comprehending the truths both of creation and of creation's God; an epitome of precious and world-wide perfections; may God most High preserve it from all ills which can affect the body and all calamities which can befall the soul, with a perpetual and ineffable protection; and may the raised dust of detriment not settle on the skirt of its perfection. My employment from the 1st *Z̲i-l-Ḥijjah*[2] to the end of *Rabī'u-l-awwal*[3] has been the engraving of the seal of the just king, the perfect *K̲h̲alīfah*[4] on which are engraved his sublime titles and the names of his exalted ancestors as far as Amīr Tīmūr, the lord of the (fortunate) conjunction.[5] The seal is wide and round and contains eight circles, one in the middle, and the rest clustered around it."[6]

The following is a copy of a letter which he wrote from Lāhor to Shaikh Umam Ya'qūb of Kas̲h̲mīr :—

> "It is not my heart alone that is the abode of longing for
> thee.
> In desire for thee all the members of my body have become
> hearts."

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[1] Qur'ān ii. 6.

[2] The twelfth month.

[3] The third month.

[4] Akbar.

[5] *Vide* p. 432, note 4.

[6] The circle in the middle was for Akbar's name, and the seven circles round it were for the names of his ancestors, *viz*:—

(1) Humāyūn, (2) Bābar, (3) 'Umar S̲h̲aik̲h̲ Mīrzā, (4) Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā, (5) Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā, (6) Jalālu-d-dīn Mīrān S̲h̲āh, (7) Quṭbu-d-dīn Amīr Tīmūr Gūrgān, *Ṣāhib-Qirān*.

Why should I complain of the power[1] of the spells of this old
enchanter[2] sitting on a throne, wearing a patched robe, and
dwelling in a lofty temple, who has, by the power of his magical
incantations, brought the whole universe, from the fish[3] to the
moon, into his blue glass bottle, and, having closed the mouth of
that bottle with wax from the candle of the moon, has sealed it
359 with so many thousand seals that the foot of flight has no power
to step from within it, and there is no hope of the hand of any
helper from without reaching those within?

I have uttered many cries but no one comes to my assistance.
It is as though there were nobody in this turquoise vault.[4]

Perforce, therefore, I remain in the bonds forged for me from eternity, and place my head on the threshold of discipleship. And, since the country and the king are alike in this condition in relation to fate, it is evident that mankind in general, much less a solitary individual, can have but little power to move hand or foot in those bonds, or release himself from durance in its prison; unless it be a perfect religious leader and perfected guide, aided in various ways and by different means by divine guidance and divine inspiration. Such a man might, striving with the strength of divine assistance, and the aid of boundless struggles and ecstacies, free himself from this most dangerors of places, this most difficult of situations. But, in truth, in these days there is, save that incomparable one of the age, whose nature is endowed with auspicious attributes, angelic qualities, and holy signs of God's handiwork, who is a revelation of the marks of the mercy of Providence (His power is honoured), no perfect knower of God illuminated and adorned by the qualities described above.[5]

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[1] I believe the text to be corrupt here. It runs چه نالم از دست شیون نیرنجات, literally 'why should I complain of the hand of the lamentation of the spells, etc.' My translation is conjectural.

[2] Fate.

[3] The fish on which, according to Eastern fabulists, the world rests.

[4] The sky.

[5] MS. (A) here inserts the passage mentioned on p. 490 note.

I hope that your holiness will, by your exalted [1] regard, free this hopeless prisoner in the bonds of the body and of outward forms, who is a unit not beyond the pale of human kind, from all bonds contrary to the laws of the prophet and intrusive upon the faith of the chosen one (on him be the most excellent of benedictions and the most perfect of blessings) and that you will sometimes, when you have leisure to think thereon, call him to mind in prayer for his attainment of his outward and inward desires, for his happiness both in things seen and things unseen, and for the accomplishment of his objects both in matters pertaining to the world and in matters pertaining to God ; for there can be for him no other means but this of arriving at God and at the firm rope of the manifest religion. He hopes that God (He is praised and exalted), will, of His favour and perfect clemency, protect 360
and guard your holiness, with your dear sons and your honoured friends, from all the snares of the world and misfortunes of the age, and will preserve you over those who love you truly and those who follow you sincerely."

CXLVIII. Naṣiḥī.[2]

He was that Jamāl K͟hān, son of S͟haik͟h Mangan of Badāon, who has already been mentioned. He was a young man of perfect orthodoxy and well known for the beauty of his form and his disposition. It may be said that love for him was the cause of the author's settling in Badāon. Had he not been transitory as the rose he would have left behind him many examples of his poetry, but death gave him not the opportunity of acquiring accomplishments.

The following verses are his :—

" Hear this well-weighed saying from one who was nurtured
on love,
' He who dies of love is better than he who lives without
love.' "

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[1] عالي according to both MSS. The text has حالي which does not accord so well with the context.

[2] *Vide supra*, p. note

"My dark-eyed beauty, thou hast smitten me with a wound,
whilst thou wert riding
I take delight in this love, for thou hast mortally wounded
me."

In imitation of that opening couplet by the K̲h̲ān-i-Kalān,[1] which begins—

"In my youth the harvest of my life was neglected in
ignorance."

He wrote—

"Each Sulaimān who did not estimate himself less than an
ant
Has at last gone away, as dust on the wind, and his wisdom
of Sulaimān [2] has passed away."

CXLIX. NIHĀNĪ.[3]

She was but a woman.[4] She lived in Āgra and was the mistress [5] of Mahisti of Hirāt. The following opening couplet is by her :—

361 "I have found the day of grief and the night of pain to give
little ease,
I have experienced much grief in these days."

Although the poets of the age have all attempted to answer this couplet none of them has equalled it :—

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[1] *Vide* p. 396, note 1.

[2] The word used here سلیمانی (*Sulaimānī*) is not easy to translate. It signifies, for want of a better word. 'Solomonship,' *i.e.* all the wisdom, majesty, etc., which were associated with Solomon.

[3] *Nihān* means 'hidden,' and is formed into a *tak̲h̲alluṣ* by the addition of the *yā-yi-nisbat*. Poetesses in the East generally assumed some such *tak̲h̲alluṣ*; *e.g.* Akbar's second wife, Sulṭān Salīma Begam, Jahāngīr's wife, Nūr Jahān and Aurangzīb's daughter, Zību-n-nisā, all wrote under the *tak̲h̲alluṣ* of Mak̲h̲fī ('concealed').

[4] ضعیفه ('weak woman'). The expression does not necessarily mean that she was ailing. It is one of kindly contempt.

[5] قرینه It may possibly mean 'wife,' or 'near relation,' but I do not think that Badāoni would apply the term to a wife, and I know of no authority for the latter meaning.

What manhood is this, that cannot cope with a woman?
Her son, Ja'far by name, is now an *Aḥadī* in Kashmīr and has been appointed to the service of the *Mīr-ī-Baḥr*. He is an able youth.

CL. NAJĀTĪ OF GĪLĀN.

He came to Hindūstān and died here. He was proficient in poetry, and in the composition of enigmas. The following couplet is his :—

"O thou in whose absence my heart runs through fire, shedding its blood
Without thee I am sometimes visible in water (tears), sometimes hidden in fire."

The following couplet is an enigma on the name Abab :—

"Thy heart has not solved my difficulty.
Fie upon thy heart, for my heart has become water."

CLI. MULLĀ NUVĪDĪ.[1]

He has recently arrived at court, and is in the service of the Khānkhānān.[2] The following couplet is his :—

"That fate which wrote the record of the sins of the wine-bibber
Wrote also in the margin the good news of the Lord's pardon."

CLII. NAU'Ī.[3]

He gives himself out to be one of the descendants of his holiness Shaikh Ḥājī Muḥammad of Khabūshān, but his conduct be-

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[1] *Vide supra* No. CXLVI.

The author of the *Tabaqāt* has evidently confused him with the poet there mentioned, for he attributes to the only Nuvīdī whom he mentions the couplet given here, and says of the poet, 'He was for a long time at the imperial court.

[2] Mīrzā 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm, son of Bairām Khān.

[3] Nau'ī is thus described in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (i, 606) 'Nau'ī of Mashhad is a poet of talent; if sharply spoken to be writes well.' Mullā Muḥammad Riẓā came from Khabūshān, near Mashhad. On his arrival in India, says the *Ma'āṣir-i Raḥīmī*, he found a patron in Mīrẑā Yūsuf Khān of Mashhad, but

lies his claim. He is now in the service of the youngest prince.[1]
362 The following verses are by him :—

"I am Nau'ī the wine-bibber, and after my death
My blisters will fester like the sun."

"Nau'ī's sorrow arises not from pain and grief
But from the exiguity of his stomach."

"Again has my desire taken the road,
That road in which even Khiẓr fears to walk,
The flowers of the plains about it are thorns of eyelashes
The stones in that road are the skulls of men."

CLIII. NIYĀZĪ.[2]

He was a native of the pleasant city of Najār, but he comes of a base stock. He was quarrelsome and impudent, and confirmed by his behaviour the general belief regarding the character of poets. He was well skilled in the arts of poetry and prosody, in the composition of enigmas, in history and all other minor branches of knowledge, and has written treatises on these subjects. On the first occasion on which he paid his respects at court to the late emperor he stepped towards him at the levée with his left foot. As his late majesty was very punctilious in such details of etiquette he said, 'The Mullā is left-handed,'[3] and commanded him

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soon afterwards entered the service of the Khānkhānān, and prince Dāniyāl at Burhānpūr. For his Sāqīrāma the Khānkhānān gave him an elephant and a present of ten thousand rupees. He also composed several odes in praise of the prince. The *Khizāna-yi-'Āmira* says that his *masnavī* entitled *Sūz-u-Gudāz* is quite sufficient to establish his fame as a great poet. Nau'ī had not arranged his *qaṣīdahs* and *ghzals* in the form of a *dīvān* when he died at Burhānpūr in A.H. 1019 (A.D. 1610).

[1] Sulṭān Dāniyāl.

[2] Niyāzī is thus described in the *Ṭabaqāt*. 'Mullā Niyāzī of Samarqand spent some time in the service of the emperor Humāyūn, and then entered the service of the *Khalīfah* of God (Akbar). He spent most of his life in Thatha. He was well-acquainted with the art of poetry, and wrote books on most arts.'

[3] The text has ملّا چپ است with a variant ملّا چپ دست است. The

to be led out and again brought forward. After the command had been given for him to be seated he began to talk lewdly, obscenely, and foolishly, and fell into an argument with Mullā Bīkasī.[1] To Mīr 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy the *Ṣadr*,[2] who took the part of the *Mullā* he 363 said, 'What shall I do? I am friendless. The face of a friendless man is blackened';[3] and when Khwāja Husain of Marv,[4] on whom rested some slight suspicion of infamy, supported the other two he said, 'Khwāja, what occasion was there for your assistance?'[5] His late majesty, much vexed and annoyed by this churlish behaviour, rose and left the *darbār*, but, in spite of his annoyance so great was his clemency that he would not consent to Niyāzī's being injured or harassed in return for his evil and beastly conduct. The reason for Niyāzī being turned out of Transoxiana was an ode which he wrote, of which the closing verses run as follows :—

"That is not the crepuscule that appears in the sky; it is my
  rosy-coloured wine
I am a debauchee swilling the lees, and the goblet of the
  sky is my cup.
Since Niyāzi has become the king of the age in the kingdom of eloquence
The name of Jāmī has been obliterated, and that of Niyāzī
  is in its place."

It is said that he was one day reciting this ode of his in a gathering at Thatha and there happened to be there a copy of the *dīvān* of his holiness the *Maulavī*.[6] It was opened at random and

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latter is correct. Niyāzi seems to have committed a serious breach of court etiquette.

[1] *Vide* p. 268. [2] *Vide* p. 378.

[3] بیکس (*bī-kas*) means 'friendless' and بیکسي (*bī-kasī*) 'friendlessness' or 'a friendless man.' The last sentence of this speech might be translated. 'The face of Bīkasī is blackened,' and it was this that Niyāzī intended to convey.

[4] *Vide* p. 248.

[5] This speech suggests a most obscene *double entendre*, having reference to Khwāja Husain's reputation. It may be translated, 'Eunuche, quae occasio est praebendi teipsum amplexibus eorum?'

[6] *i.e.* Jāmī.

on the page at which it opened this opening couplet was written:

"Regard the sky as a cup which is upside down, empty of
the wine of delight
To look for wine from a cup which is upside down is the
mark of a fool."

Niyāzī olim Fusunium poetam in somnio vidit et putavit se in barbâ ejus minxisse. Poeta quidam hos versiculos recitavit,

"Niyāzī Fusunium in somnio vidit.
Et barbam ejus aquâ ex amphorâ aspersit.
Si autem minxit Fusunio opprobrio ne tribuatis,
Canis, si minxit in rubo, minxit."

364 The following verses are by Niyāzī:—

"O silver-bodied one, thy locks curl over thy flaming cheek
For when a hair falls on the fire it twists and curls."

"Since I cannot go round the head of that tyrannical beauty,
I bring her image to my sight and ever go round about it."

"It is not from the breeze that her shift is in motion,
The grace of her body has given life to the shift."

He died in Thatha.

CLIV. NĀMĪ.[1]

This is the poetical name of Mīr Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm Ṣafavī, the orthodox and noble son of Mīr Sayyid Ṣafā'ī, who was one of the great Sayyids and respected elders of the city of Bhakkar.

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[1] Mīr Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm is mentioned in the *Tabaqāt* as a pious young man and a friend of the author's. He belonged to a family of Tirmiẕī Sayyids who, two or three generations before his time had left Tirmiẕ in Bukhārā and settled in Qandahār, where his ancestors were trustees of the shrine of Bābā Shīr Qalandar. His father settled in Bhakkar and received favours from Sulṭān Maḥmūd. After the death of his father poverty compelled Mīr Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm to leave Bhakkar and he went to Gujarāt where he was introduced to Khwāja Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, author of the *Tabaqāt*, then *dīvān* of Gujarāt. He was also introduced to Shihāb Khān, governor of Gujarāt, and was recommended to Akbar for a *manṣab*. He served in Gujarāt in

Mīr Muḥammad Ma'sūm is at present enrolled among the *amīrs* of the empire, and holds some appointment in the imperial service in Sind and Qandahār. He is very strict in religion, in piety, praise and prayer, and in reading the *Qur'ān*, and somebody once said to him, 'One cannot do without a director in these duties. You should get a director and receive instruction from him, and you can then take your leave of him.' Nāmī replied, "I have at present two or three directors, what need have I of another? My first director was his majesty, for this reason, that when I came[1] from my dear native land to the capital I was so filled with the pride and aspirations of youth, which are the sources of extravagant hopes and desires, that I could not bring myself to consider the acceptance of anything so humble as a commandership of a thousand, or even of two thousand. When I arrived at court I tasted the sticks of the ushers and mace-bearers who 365 keep order, and had to endure insults, and when, after a long period of expectation, his majesty honoured me by bestowing on me a command of twenty men, all my extravagant claims took wings to themselves, and I, recognizing my proper rank and place, resigned myself to God's will, and bowed my head in acquiescence, and was at peace; and there is that proverb, "Although I struggled much to become somebody I became nothing, now I let myself alone in order that I may become whatever I am to become."

A.D. 1584, and was present at the fight of Maisāna, and in the final expedition against Muẓaffar in Kacch. In the fortieth year he was a commander of two hundred and fifty. Akbar became very fond of him and sent him in 1602 as ambassador to Persia, where he was well received by S͟hāh 'Abbās. On his return from Persia in 1606 Jahāngīr sent him as *amīn* to Bhakkar, where he died. It is said that he reached under Akbar the command of a thousand. He was skilled as a composer and tracer of inscriptions. He was best known as a poet and historian. He composed a *dīvān*, a *mas̤navī* entitled *Ma'danu-l-afkār* in the metre of Niẓāmī's *Ma͟khzanu-l-asrār*, the *Tārī͟kh-i-Sind*, dedicated to his son, and a short medical work called *Mufridāt-i-ma'ṣūmī*. The *Riyāẓu-s͟h-S͟hu'arā* and Taqī's *Tazkirah* say that he composed a *K͟hamsah*, viz.:—the *mas̤navī* already mentioned, the *Ḥusn-u-Nāz* corresponding to Niẓāmī's *Yūsuf-u-Zulai͟khā*, the *Parī-ṣūrat* to the *Lailā-u-majnūn*, and two others in imitation of the *Haft Paikar* and *Sikandarnāma*.

[1] The words from "my first" to "I came" have been most carelessly omitted from the text, though they are in both MSS., and the whole passage is nonsense without them.

"I am not grieved that my affairs have not turned out well
but have turned out ill,
'It will be, it will be' never comes to pass. Say
'Be not,' and see what comes to pass."

No other religious director could possibly have given me better direction than this. My second director was Mīr Abū-l-G͟hais̤ of Buk͟hārā,[1] who in rank and dignity was many degrees greater than I, for until the time when I made his acquaintance, if my horses missed their corn and grass for one day I would be so vexed and angry that I would turn my head away from everybody, and not speak a word to any one; but after I fell into the company of the Mīr I observed that sometimes, for three or four consecutive days, there was neither corn nor grass in his stables, nor the smoke of any fire in his kitchen, and in spite of this state of things, he was so cheerful, merry, and jovial that no suggestion of his indigence and actual want was conveyed to anybody, and nobody was in a position to talk about his affairs. Wealth and want were always alike to him.

Take refuge from the shocks of fate among those *Ṣūfīs*
Who grieve for existence and rejoice at non-existence.

366 I then began to console myself by the thought that if times were so hard with this great man and yet made no difference to him, I had a much better reason for being cheerful and happy, seeing that I had not a hundredth part of his state and pomp to keep up. My third director is a slave-girl bestowed upon me by the emperor. Quum enim, instantibus vel diaboli insidiis vel desideriis naturalibus, me sentio, sive oculorum micantium sive libidinis indulgentiae causâ, ad stuprum tractum, statim domum reversus cum eâ rem habeo, unde quiescit cor meum; et, corpore aquâ loto, mundus fio. And a director has no greater duty than that of restraining a person from unseemly and unbecoming acts.

The Mīr is a most diligent student and has correct taste in poetry and in the composition of enigmas. He is high-minded and sublime in disposition. He has composed a *dīvān*, and a *mas̤navī*[2] in the metre of the *Yūsuf-u-Zulaik͟hā* (of Niz̤āmī).

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[1] *Vide* page 183.

[2] This was the *Ḥusn-u-Nāz*.

The following few couplets are productions of his brilliant imagination :—

"How sweet it is to think that when I am beside myself with love thou wilt come to ask my condition.
And I shall explain it at length to thee in the speech in which no tongue has part."

"When she saw my tears she concealed her smile
It is clear that my tears are not without their effect."

"In love there is an intoxication which revives tired lovers.
In absence there is a subtle delight which even union lacks."

"My moon-like beauty gave her message to the messenger with a laugh.
The trace of that laugh still lingers in the message which she sent."

He sent the following *qaṣīdah* in praise of the prophet from Aḥmadābād to me in Āṭak :—

"The scar of love which has been on my heart from eternity.
Has been changed, by the blessings which even thy absence can bestow, to naught but pain. 367
The flood of fire which my heart in its pain heaved up.
Has thrown confusion into the temperament of the earth and the age.
The remembrance of my grief for thee gives me a taste of sweet sorrow
The flavour of thy absence from me gives me an idea of the sweet savour of death.
Happy is he who has set his foot in the path of love.
For he enjoys delights without sight, and a love without arts.
If thou find thy way to the Laboratory of Creation thou shalt see
Both creation in action and love transformed to deeds.
My disquiet has drawn me from love to madness,

Until at length I have become, through thee, a byword for madness.
I have poured from my heart so much hot blood that it has cast
All my life, entirely, and utterly, into a fiery slough.
My love for thee has thrown a thousand knotty difficulties in my path
But has not yet solved even one of the difficulties caused by thy absence.
On the one hand the fear of death offers the intoxication of absence from thee.
On the other the delight of reunion with thee offers me the fruition of all my hopes.
Though the dead have not risen the tumult of the resurrection has arisen.
From the fire which has flamed up from my heart.[1]
The eyes of a whole world are suffused with blood by that eyelash of thine.
A whole people is sleeping in dust by reason of that collyrium-tinged eye of thine.
In both worlds have I lighted the fire of madness.
368 But I have not given in my ode a hint of the secrets of thy love.
That heart which I had, steeped in the love of thee
Is melted into blood and poured out on my body.
From my grief in thy absence I have at the end of each eyelash a cloud which rains sparks.
I have in my breast a hundred heaps of fire which burn in thy absence.
The eyes of the age have no employment but to gaze upon thee
The eyes of principalities and powers are smitten with love in thy service.
I desire to be released from the hell of separation from thee
By him who wipes out infidelity, who protects the faith, and who guides peoples in the right way.

[1] Literally, 'liver.'

The king of Najaf, ‘Alī, the saint, the king who passes not away[1]
He it is whom the cash of all the prophets has gained for the world.

He is the moon from whom the sun receives his light,
He is a lion beneath whose feet the lion of the heavens lies in the mire.

His protection has thrown up a fortress around the people of the world
From which, except by death and by the gate of death, no one can pass.

If the arm of the sky should feel, even in a dream, the strength of thy grasps, it would pluck from its joint[2] its withered hand.

When thy majestic shout reaches a mountain range
It reverberates, coiling like a whip lash about the mountain masses.

If one dot of the *qāf*[3] of thy power could be weighed against *Qāf* (Causasus)
The dot would take the place of Qāf, and the scale of Qāf would fly up as high as Saturn.

If thy hand should check the reins of eternity without end
It would fall a thousand stages behind eternity without beginning.

The tree of the sky is but one leaf from the garden of thy power.
The garden of the world is but half a mound from the cultivated area of thy munificence.

Thy age has so sweetened the disposition of the world
That it is no longer possible to distinguish between poison and honey.

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[1] The text has لافقى. I believe لافني or لافنا to be the correct reading.

[2] Literally ‘root.’

[3] The word قدر (‘power’) begins with the letter قاف (*qāf*) which has two dots. The poet means to say that one dot from one of the letters of the word denoting ‘Ali’s power would far outweigh Mount Caucasus.

If thy auspicious glance should fall by chance on an onion.
The world beside it appears less than an onion.
In this thy age thy *Ẕū-l-faqār*[1] explains to thy enemy and thy 'Yea, verily' to thy petitioner the meaning of 'Nay' and 'Yea.'
If through thy mind there pass but the semblance of wrath.
Death trembles like a willow from fear.
The sky of thy might has such width that the sun
Would not wonder could be find shelter behind it as behind a lofty mountain.
If thy dagger lend its tongue to the sword of discipline
Woe be to the sky with its crooked dealings, its fraud and its many deceits.
Since eloquence is decked as a bride for thy praise,
I have decked her with striped garments of flowery speech.
Woe to thee Nāmī, and woe to those who shall arise with thee,
When the black book of your acts is opened before you at the resurrection!
I am hopeful of obtaining a mediator like the sun
370 On that day on which there shall no longer remain any shadow of hope,
Him who is the rain from the cloud of God's mercy, the cup-bearer of the Day of Resurrection.
The greatest protection of the faith, and the lord even of death."

Quatrains.

" One should sit alone with one's self in the assembly,
One should commune ever with one's self,
One should be both the nightingale and the rose of the meadow.[2]
One should be distraught with one's own affairs "

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[1] The sword of 'Alī.

[2] *i.e.* 'One should be both the nightingale which sings to the rose and the rose which listens to the song.'

"Thou hearest the shout of departure from all
Thou hearest the cry 'Come on' both before and behind
All have made a night march to a distant halting place
Whilst thou hast slept by the road and hearest but the sound
of the bell."

"O thou who desirest a glimpse of that Face,
Thou needest eyes other than those in thy head.
Dost thou wish to miss none of those Glances?
Thou must have eyes in the heart, and within them yet other
eyes."

"The love of thee is not to be bought by every buyer
The price of one hair of thine is this world and the next.
Thy love is not a rose which blooms in streets and markets,
Nor is it such musk as is found in the perfumer's shop."

"Those complainest of the defilements of the world.
Find not fault with others, for thou, too, art one of the throng.
Preserve thine own skirt from defilement
Nāmī, for the two or three days which thou hast to spend on
this midden."

"In loving lovely ones one must accustom one's self to madness,
One must lead one's soul to the endurance of separation.
One must become as a bottle filled with blood,
And then pour one's heart out at one's eyes."

"In our religion thou must ever be constant
And keep the faith while in the circle of infidelity.
This is the path of love of our beloved,
To stand ever with the sacred thread of idolatry round the
neck, and yet remain a Musalmān."

"A rose-garden of beauty is the cheek of my enslaver.
When it displays itself before my wounded heart

I weep seas upon seas and worlds upon worlds of blood,
I blossom with gardens upon gardens and meadows upon
meadows of roses."

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372 "On the day on which I arise, crying out for grief at her
absence
The hand of my heart is twisted in the skirt of separation.
With those tears which are mingled with my heart's blood.
I shed on my skirt the blood of two thousand hearts."

"In the ocean of my heart a sea of blood is in turmoil,
A hundred hells of pain are burning within me.
I shall strike fire into the structure of the world
From this madness which burns within me."

"Seek not a sweetheart lest thy whole heart turn to blood,
Lest thou be not hers until thou art completely changed.
Lest thou become distracted,.arranged, and mad,
Lest thou depart completely from the fashion of the age."

"Although the seekers after His beauty are many
Not every eye is worthy to catch a glimpse of the Face of the
Friend;
Not all idolatry is worthy of the sacred thread,
Nor is every head worthy of adorning the gibbet."

"Every moment my heart arranges its thoughts of thee,
And makes a thousand guesses as to where thou art.
373 I fear, my love, that the bird of my soul
Will one day fly from its cage in the desire to be with thee.'

"O thou who hast laden thy camel,
And hast fallen asleep, forgetful of the march,
Wake, and set in the road the foot of search,
For all have gone and thou too art of this caravan."

"To-day the breeze has a scent of fidelity,
As though it knew something of love.
It has thrown my poor mad heart into a turmoil
Perchance it has somewhere found cause to be disturbed."

"At times I weep; at times I cease from weeping,
Lest haply from somewhere I should hear thy voice,
Not for a moment am I free from thoughts of thee,
I sometimes fear that I may forget to draw my next breath."

"The eyes should know the meaning of grief,
The heart's pain should be set forth in weeping,
In the breast should be sparks of fire instead of a heart,
The heart,[1] instead of tears, should be in the eyes."

"Every year, when the rose comes again into the garden, 374
Joy and gladness come into the world;
On the rose's page it is easy to read her faithlessness,
For the nightingale breaks into lamentations."

"One quarter of my life was spent in ignorance,
One quarter of it was spent thou knowest how,
One quarter of it was spent in folly and idleness,
And one quarter was spent in grief and repentance."

"My heart is wounded in a hundred ways by grief for thy absence.
In thy absence I feel that the tumult of the day of resurrection is before me.
I draw in my breath, but exhale it not again,
For between my lip and my heart are more than a thousand hells."

[1] Literally, 'liver.'

"Every tear which I have shed from my eyes
I have first mixed with the poison of my grief for her absence.
I fear that at the resurrection a hell will arise
From these tears which I have shed in her absence."

"How long wilt thou fill thy heart with wrath on account of one thing or another?
375 How long wilt thou make thy breast no more than a coffer of gold?
Thy business is not to make thy heart turbid;
Thy business is to make it as clear as a mirror."

CLV. Naẓīrī of Nīshāpūr.[1]

In graceful wit and clearness of intellect he is the equal of Shikibī of Iṣfahān. He is now in the service of the Khānkhānān, and is enrolled in that band of poets who are entitled gentlemen of the suite. In imitation of that *qaṣīdah* by Shaikh Niẓāmī of Ganja (may God rest his soul,) which begins,

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[1] In the *Ṭabaqāt* Naẓīrī is thus described, 'Maulānā Naẓīrī is from Nīshāpūr and is not devoid of freshness of intellect. He has written many tasteful verses. He was formerly in the service of the Khānkhānān, but now he has gone to Makkah.' Abū-l-Faẓl thus describes him in the *Āīn*, 'He possesses poetical talent, and the garden of thought has a door open for him. Outwardly he is a good man, but he also desires plans for the architecture of the heart.'

Muḥammad Ḥusain Naẓīrī of Nīshāpūr left his home for Kāshān, where he held poetical contests with several poets, such as Fahmī, Ḥātim, and others. He then went to India, where he formed a patron in Mīrzā 'Abdur Raḥīm, Khānkhānān. In A.D. 1603-04 he went to Makkah on a pilgrimage, after which he is said to have become very pious. On his return to India he lived at Aḥmadābād in Gujarāt where he died in 1613. Jahāngīr says in his Tūzuk (p. 91) 'Some time before this (early in A.D. 1611) I had summoned to court Naẓīrī of Nīshāpūr who is well known for his poems and poetical genius, and at present lives in Gujarāt as a merchant. He now arrived and paid his respects, and presented to me an encomiastic *qaṣīdah* in the model of a *qaṣīdah* of Anvarī's, in return for which I presented him with a thousand rupees, a horse, and a robe of honour.' The *Ma'āṣir-i-Raḥīmī* says that Naẓīrī was a skilful goldsmith, and that he died, after having seen his patron in Āgra, in A.H. 1022 (A.D. 1613) at Aḥmadābād, where he lies buried in a mosque which he had built near his house. According to the Mir'ātul-l-'Ālam he gave what he had to his friends and the poor. For the couplet written concerning him by the famous poet Ṣā'ib see (*Āīn*, 580 n.).

"I am king of the kings of learning, by means of the excellence of my grace of language
The earth and the age have taken on themselves the likeness of the sky,"

he wrote the following *qaṣīdah* :—

"I can scarcely contain myself in my excellence when the wine of my songs in its vat
Rends the clothes on my body, when sublime realities seethe within me.
Waylay me not with foolish stories, for, with the fire of high resolve.
I desire to raise [1] steam from my brain and my eyes throughout the night.
I have become the trusted adviser of those who hasten towards reunion (with the Beloved)
For I never return a boastful answer.
I am the dog of the threshold, but all night I gnaw my collar,
For the desire of hunting seizes me, not the intention of watching."

The following verses also are by him :—

"Although for an age I have girt up my loins in thy service what rank have I gained ?
I should have become a Brahman had I so often girt myself with the sacred thread."

"I travel on a deadly road, not knowing to what end it may lead.

From what has been said it will appear that Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, the author of the *Ṭabaqāt*, who died on November 18, 1594 (*vide* vol. ii, text, p. 397), some ten years before Naẓīrī left for Makkah has anticipated Naẓīrī's pilgrimage. It is possible that the short accounts of the poets in the *Ṭabaqāt* received some additions after the death of the author.

[1] The text has کند, but the sense demands کنم.

How shall the foot which has travelled this road ever again
return to one's skirt ?"
"See the effects of my (burning) sigh, which has not yet
reached my lips,
And yet a thousand blisters from my heart are on the tip of
my tongue."

CLVI. NAVĀ'Ī.

His name was Mīr Muḥammad Sharif. His brother was Mīr Qudsī of Karbalā, who wrote the following couplet :—

"Wonder not if I know not the taste of gladness,
I, Qudsī, have never known gladness in my life."

Navā'ī came to India and at once entered the service of the emperor. He has recently died. The following verses are by him :—

"I am sitting in a corner, grieving over thy faithlessness
And resigning myself to the hardship of separation from
thee.
For all thy wrath I will not move from my place.
What shall I do ?
For I have no confidence in thy familiarity.
Thou art not, in the way of kindliness and fidelity that
candle
At the light of which the eyes light up with joy."

"I reached no place, I traversed no road,
But thou didst traverse my heart and reach my heart."

"Sit down with friendly glances, and rise not up in wrath,
377 Thou camest late to inquire for me, rise not soon to go."

CLVII. NUVĪDĪ OF NĪSHĀPŪR.[1]

He was a man of considerable attainments, and was highly regarded as a poet. His death occurred in the city of Ujjain in the province of Mālwa in A.H. 973 (A.D. 1565-66) while he was on

[1] *Vide* p. 478

his way to perform the pilgrimage. The following verses are by him :—

"If my rose-coloured tears have marked the ground with
purple stains
They cannot be removed, for these are the flowers of true
love."

"The new moon on the night of '*Īd* wished to become the
knocker on thy door ;
It conceived from afar the desire, which was never fulfilled."

"What delight there is in seeing thy face each moment
What joy there is in coming, each moment, to thy street.
Such a bond connects me with thee
That it cannot be cut by a hundred swords.
Nuvidī, what hast thou gained from her ruby lip
Save the biting of the finger of regret."

CLVIII. Naẓmī of Tabrīz.[1]

The lustre of his poetry is vouched for by his trade, which is that of an appraiser of jewels. He has a mind well adapted to poetry and has composed a *dīvān*, which is well known.

The following verses are his :—

A quatrain.

"She is a capricious beauty whose lips are full of wiles,
All the clear-sighted are smitten with love's madness by
her ;
Is that a red turban which she has bound on her head ? **378**
Or is it the cord of my soul steeped in blood ?"

"The scar of my love's cruelty, which is on my breast—
Ah, call it not a scar! It has long been dear to me."

"How can I write an account of my condition on the page ?
For the page is at once moistened by my tears.

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[1] Naẓmī is not mentioned either in the *Āīn* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

The pigeon brought me thy letter and I live. I should have died
Had not that bird of auspicious pinion brought me that letter.
I shall write at length to her of Naẓmī's state
But where will that careless cypress-like beauty cast an eye on the letter ?"

"In the bath I saw Parī Khānum with a face like a fairy,
Nay, I saw a spark of fire sitting in the water."

"From thy theft of my heart and thy subsequent avoidance of me it is clear
That the sole object of thy friendship with me was the theft of my heart."

"The down which sprouts on the rose of my beloved's cheek
Is a violet which sprouts on a bed of tulips."

CLIX. VUQŪ'Ī OF NĪSHĀPŪR.[1]

He was a relation of Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān[2] and his name was Muḥammad Sharīf. Alas, that such a noble[3] name should be borne by such a vile fellow! For he was more heretical than any person who, in this brief age, was known by the same

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[1] Muḥammad Sharīf Vuqū'ī belonged, according to the *Ma'āṣir-i-Raḥīm*, to a distinguished family of Sayyids in Nīshāpūr. His mother was the sister of Amīr Shāhmīr, who had been for a long time Assay-master under Shāh Ṭahmāsp

[2] A relation and friend of Akbar's foster-mother, and one of the leading nobles at Court. He was commander of Dihlī from the beginning of Akbar's reign and was instrumental in bringing about the fall of Bairam Khān. He was successively governor of Mālwa, Gujarāt, and Mālwa again, and in A.D. 1576 was made a commander of five thousand. He died at Ujjain in Mālwa in A.D. 1590-91. His wife, Bābū Āghā, was related to Akbar's mother. She died in A.D. 1596-97. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 332; Badāonī vol. ii (text), 36 *et passim.*

[3] Sharīf means 'noble.'

name[1]. He was not a *Basākhwānī* pure and simple nor a *Ṣabāḥī*[2] 379
pure and simple, but was betwixt and between these two sects damned by God and cursed by the people, and believed in cycles[3] and held the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, nay, he contended and strove for these doctrines. One day in Bhimbar,[4] which is a city on the border of the highlands of Kashmīr, he came to my lodging in order to ask me to accompany him into Kashmīr. He saw some slabs of rock, weighing over thirty-five tons[5] each, lying about, and said sorrowfully. 'These unfortunates are awaiting the time when they shall put on human form.' In spite of all these vile beliefs he has written *qaṣīdahs* in praise of the holy *Imāms* (may the acceptance of God be on them all), but these must have been written when he was young. In penmanship, letter-writing and accounts he had wonderful skill, and although he was not studious he had devoted some attention to Arabic works on history and had acquired familiarity with their style. The following few couplets are by him :—

"In order that my lamentations in thy absence may not betray my secret,
I pray that my weakness may utter no sound in the night of my sorrow."

"How will shame allow me to raise my head when thou seest me?
For my love for thee has made thy name the talk of all tongues.

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[1] Such as Sharīf-i-, Sarmadī of Iṣfahān and Sharīf-i-Amulī (*vide* p. 340 both heretics in Badāonī's eyes. . See also vol. ii (text), p. 245

[2] I have not been able to discover what the distinctive doctrines of the *Ṣabāḥīs* were, but they were evidently regarded by Badāonī as vile heretics. For mention of the *Basākhwānīs vide* p. 283 note 4.

[3] That is to say, the changes of the natural kingdoms, animal, vegetable, and mineral, in various cycles. Vuqū'ī's remark on the rocks, which follows shortly, indicates the nature on his belief on this point.

[4] A *pargana* town on a stream of the same name in the Cinhat Dūāb in the Panjāb. The stream flows four miles N.W. of Gujarāt and eventually joins the *Jalālia nālā*, a branch of the Cināb.

[5] The original has 'a thousand *mans* each.' A thousand *mans* are 35[illegible] tons.

The torment of the stranger's hard-heartedness has cast fire
into my heart
For though thou afflictest him a hundred times he turns not
to thee."

"Beneath the wound of thy sword I flinch not intentionally;
It may be that I give thee some knowledge of my
weakness."

"She reminds me of the restlessness which I suffer in her
absence.
One would think that once in the days of my youth she had
asked me how I did."[1]

"For each one of the fair that I see I experience such ecstasies
of love,
380 That the fire of desire for her leaps into flame in my soul."

"Every hour thou accusest me of some fresh fault,
As thou seekest only to vex me I wonder not at this."

"I wish not to be questioned at the day of judgment,
For I fear that I should have to tell what I have suffered in
my love for thee."

"Thou vexest none but me, and I am glad
That thou hast such dealings with none but me."

"In the night of absence from thee I suffer grief in a hundred
forms,
In the midst of the sighs and lamentations which my mouth[2]
utters."

"One can see from without the burning of my heart in my
body,

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[1] The poet means to say that he could hardly venture even to long his beloved had she not once shown him some slight mark of favour.

[2] Literally 'head.'

As one sees the flame of a candle in a lamp covered with a shirt.
I fell as one dead when I bade thee farewell,
That thou mightest know that in thy absence I have no desire to live."

The following few couplets are from a *qaṣīdah* which he wrote in praise of the Imām Ḥusain (on him be peace):—

"Whenever, from the fierceness of love's fire, I burst into flame like a candle,
The flame ever and anon beats against me like a moth.
Since my love has assured himself of my fidelity and love he employs himself in cruelty.
Would that I had never submitted myself to the violence of a test!
If I should become a partaker of the bounty of thy heart
It will be possible for me to convey a hundred tales in one word.
So common has the content of opulence become in the age of thy magnanimity
That the soulless body turns with loathing from the prospect of life eternal 381
When the weight of thy commands affects the nature of the wind
Even the light breeze oppresses the earth with the weight of a mountain.
There is no king like me to-day in the kingdom of eloquence,
Whoever doubts this let him test the truth of what I say by this *Bismi'-llāh* [1] which I utter.
O ye, beloved of the virgin of reality, when my thoughts soar
They display their beauty through the windows of heaven."

From another *qaṣīdah*,

"If cruelty is done by thee my heart cheerfully submits to it.

---

[1] 'In the name of God,' the formula used in beginning any work. The poet represents what he has said as merely an introduction to what is to follow.

It may be that God will yet give thee a feeling heart.
I die of jealousy when I consider that love for thee
Gives to each heart which it enters pain eternal.
By night when I light my heart with thoughts of thee
The burning glow of my heart is a lamp to the seven heavens."

He wrote this *qaṣīdah* in praise of her holiness the lady who is the shining one of paradise and the chief of women,[1] (may God accept her), but when it came to me in this form I found it to be one of his blasphemous compositions, and I have therefore not considered it right to quote any of the encomiastic couplets. S̲h̲arif's death occurred in A.H. 1002 (A.D. 1593-94.). He left many valuable books behind him, but they were lost in the deep sea and found their way to the ocean which surrounds the world.

CLX. VIDĀ'Ī OF HIRĀT.

He was possessed of some attainments. He came to Hindūstān and died here. The following verses are his:—

382 "The land of Ind is full of darkness, like the night of separation.
Whoever has come hither regrets and repents it.
Vidā'ī, seek no gain from the land of India, but leave it.
It is gain enough if thou carry thy life in safety from India."

In imitation of the couplet which runs:—

"Happy is that time when, gazing on thy face, I am beside myself.
From time to time I come to myself, and again and again I am beside myself."

He wrote:—

"It is not from wine at thy feast that I am beside myself.
The cup kisses thy lip, and it is from jealousy that I am beside myself."

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[1] Fāṭimah, daughter of Moḥammad and wife of 'Alī.

CLXI. Vāqi‘ī of Hirāt.[1]

His name is Ibn ‘Ali, and he was in the emperor's service. The following verses are by him:—

“Thy brow is not furrowed from coquetry.
The ocean of thy beauty is rising in billows, and this is the reason of those furrows.
Thou art still intoxicated with the wine of coquetry
As is evident, my dark beauty, from thy arrogance.
Why, like the candle, should I bring the fire of my heart to my tongue?
Since its fire is clearly to be seen in the fiery sighs which I heave.
What need is there of the new moon on the night of 'Īd
To thee, from the opening in whose sleeve the new moon is apparent?”

“Her two ruby lips have between them the water of life. 383
True it is that whenever two who are friends to the death come together there is ever a life between them.”[2]

“As no dust settles on the mirror so my heart is vexed by nobody.
For I have ceased to hope for manhood from the people of this age.”

“Happy is that state of intoxication which leads me enraptured to thee
And is so deep that I cannot be removed from thy street.”

---

[1] The *Ṭabaqāt* mentions Ibn‘Alī under the *takh̲alluṣ* of *Vāṣiqi* but gives no information regarding him. The one couplet of his there quoted is not quoted here, so that it cannot be determined whether the Vāṣiqī of the *Ṭabaqāt* is the Vāqi‘ī here mentioned; but Vāṣiq‘ī is not improbably a copyist's error for Vāqi‘ī.

[2] *i.e.* whenever two such friends meet there is always between them the thought that each is prepared to give his life for the other.

"In my unrest I am ever seized by the desire of visiting the
street of that moonlike beauty.
But the thought of her infidelities arrests me by the
way."

"Her ringlet trembles on her cheek with the zephyr of my
sigh
As the smoke of the candle trembles in the passing breeze."

CLXII. Vaṣfī.

His name is Mīr 'Abdu-'llāh [1] and he is an excellent penman. He is the pupil of S͟hāh G͟hiyās̤ and Maulānā Rāqimī, and writes seven scripts. He is enrolled among the *aḥadīs.* Through his mother he is related to Mīrzā Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad. He sometimes turns his attention to poetry. The following verses are his:—

"Now that I have experienced the sweetness of love's
sorrow
I enjoy a thousand bursts of weeping for every laugh of
mine."

A quatrain.

"Where is love? For my inner self is dark as the darkest
night:
The secrets of God are hidden from my understanding.
It may be that love will lead me to them, but, if not,
384 Then is the end of my journey far indeed from my lame
efforts."

Another quatrain.

"If a poet form the intention of eulogizing thy greatness.
His thoughts are imprisoned in his mind by the weightiness
of the subject.
In thy reign strife has so disappeared from our midst
That the flame sympathizes with the cotton in its constancy." [2]

---

[1] Mīr 'Abdu-'llāh is mentioned in the *Āīn* (i. 103) as one of the renowned caligraphers of the age.

[2] *i e.* even the flame of the candle sympathizes with the wick.

CLXIII. VAṢLĪ.

He was a facetious and jovial man. Leaving 'Irāq he went on a pilgrimage to the Ḥijāz and thence travelled for India by sea. The sailors ran the ship into a whirlpool and disappeared in the sea of annihilation, but he, reaching the shore of safety, entered the dominions of (Ibrāhīm) Quṭb Shāh [1] of the Dakan. There he engaged in a wrestling bout with one of the wrestlers of that country, and threw him. The wrestler's comrades, actuated by envy and rancour, put some poison into Vaṣlī's cup. The catastrophe of his death occurred in A.H. 977 (A.D. 1569-70). The following verses are quoted as a memorial of him :—

"My heart goes warily along its road, and I fear
That some sorrow is following it."

"My darling, thou art become so harsh-tempered
That no one can surpass thee in harshness of temper."

CLXIV. VUQŪFĪ OF HIRĀT.

He was originally known as Mīr Wā'iẓ ('the preacher') and was a native of Badakhshān. He held stirring meetings for preaching. The following verses are his :—

"Though my head become the dust of thy path and be carried away on the breeze 335
It is impossible that the thought of thy face should leave my memory."

"My heart is disturbed, as are thy tresses in the breeze ;
Thou hast not undone even the smallest [2] knot in my string of difficulties."

---

[1] Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh (A.D. 1550-1580) was the fourth king of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty of Golkonda. *Vide Historic Landmarks of the Deccan*, by Major T. W. Haig, pp. 61, 217, 236.

[2] There is a play upon words here which cannot be reproduced in a translation. The words سرِ مو ('end of a hair') are used to describe anything very small

"All at once I have become the whirlwind of the valley of grief,
On account of my evil passions I am become a vagabond in the world."

"The tale of my grief and woe has passed all bounds,
Love has come upon me and has made me his own from head to foot."

CLXV. Vafā‘ī of Iṣfahān.[1]

He was for some time in Kashmir, and then come to Lāhor and was with Zain Khān Kūka.[2] The following verses are his :—

"Knock at the door of the heart in the middle of the night, for when the day appears
All other doors are opened, but this door is shut."

"The real dearth of fidelity is this, that the lovely ones of this age.
Set out the well-spread table and then drink the heart's blood of the guest."

CLXVI. Hamdamī.

He is Mīrzā Barkhurdār,[3] who has the title of Khān-i-‘Ālam.

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[1] According to the *Ātashkada-yi-Āzarī* Vafā‘ī belonged to the ‘Imādiyyah Kurds, and was brought up at Iṣfahān. His quatrains are good. Dāghistānī calls him a Turk and says that he was at first an ironer of clothes. From a defect in one of his eyes he was called *Vafā‘ī-yi-kūr*, or the blind Vafā’ Dāghistānī adds that his impudent flattery was proverbial. In the *Āīnī* (i, 592) he is thus described, 'He possesses sparks of taste. He wandered for some time in the desert of retirement, but has now put the mantle of worldliness on his shoulders.'

[2] *Vide* p. 327.

[3] Mīrzā Barkhurdār was, in the fortieth year of Akbar's reign, a commander of two hundred and fifty. His father had been killed in a fight with the Bihār rebel Dalpat, who was afterwards caught and kept in prison till the 44th year, when, on payment of a heavy *pīshkash* he was allowed to return to his home. Barkhurdār, however, who wished to avenge the death of his father, laid wait for him, but Dalpat managed to escape. Akbar was much annoyed with Barkhurdār and imprisoned him. He was released after the accession of Jahāngīr, and in 1611 accompanied an embassy to

He is the son of Hamdam Beg [1] who was one of the famous *amīrs* of his late majesty. Hamdamī is well known for his bravery and his goodness of disposition. He used to occupy himself with poetry. The following couplet is his :—

> " See my heart, which has on every part of it a fresh scar caused by love's madness ;
> It is an ocean of grief and everywhere in it there is a whirlpool of blood." 386

In imitation of that *ghazal* of Āṣafī's, which begins :—

> " My slayer closes her eyes at my dying gasps
> Until my heart longs with regret to catch her gaze."

He wrote, by the emperor's order, the following :—

> " The arrow of that slayer came and passed through my heart,
> And the scar remains on my heart till the day of resurrection."

Shaikh Faiẓī, at the time when this *ghazal* was under discussion at Āgra, wrote the following :—

> " Place thy foot on it (my heart), [2] " O slayer, as I gasp in death,
> That thus I may have an opportunity of kissing thy foot."

At this time (Faiẓī) produced many *ghazals* of this sort from his *dīvān* and dressed them up to suit the emperor's taste. [3]

Persia. The embassy returned in 1620 and Barkhurdār was made a commander of five thousand. On Shāhjahān's accession he was made governor of Bihār and a commander of six thousand, but was very soon removed from Bihār. In 1632 he was pensioned off as he was old and given to opium, and received an annual pension of one *lakh* of rupees. He died a natural death at Āgra. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i. 512.

[1] According to the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (i, 465) Barkhurdār's father was ‘Abdu-r-Rahmān Dūldai. Hamdam Beg was apparently his title. Dūldai is the name of a branch of the Barlās tribe.

[2] I am not satisfied with the reading of this verse. I believe that the text is corrupt or that some context is required to convey the exact meaning, or that it is an example of Faiẓī's peculiar Persian.

[3] The subject of this sentence is not expressed. The sentence may refer to Hamdamī, but its contemptuous tone suggests that Faiẓī is indicated.

CLXVII. HAJRĪ.[1]

He is descended from his holiness Shaikh Jām, (may God hallow his tomb). He was very pious, chaste, and pure, and had an angelic disposition. He has compiled a *dīvān* consisting of five thousand couplets. The following verses are some of the products of his genius :—

A quatrain.

"O Rose to whose skirt no hand can reach
We love Thy name and are intoxicated by Thy perfume !
This is the marvel, that Thou art present and yet absent[2] from our midst
387 Thou art invisible, yet all that is visible is from Thee !"

An ode.

"It is the singer of the morning, joy-diffusing, that awakens desire in our hearts
The nightingale of early morn is welcomed as an intimate to the assembly of the Rose.
Become by the height of love's good fortune the *humā*[3] of the lote-tree of Paradise
For the garden and the scenery of this village (the world) oppress, the spirits.
Wash thy mouth with the water of repentance from the dregs of thy sins,
For thy life has been spent in transgression and the time for restraint has come.
Put on the breastplate of worship, for, ambushed by thy life's way,
The robber of thy time stands to meet thee,
With his blood-shedding sword in his hand.

---

[1] This poet is not mentioned in the *Āīn* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*. Mr. Blochmann, referring, on p. 622 of vol. i of the *Āīn*, to another poet bearing the same *akhallus*, styles him 'Hijrī.' I prefer to connect the *takhallus* with هجر (*hajr*) rather than with هجرة (*hijrat*).

[2] *i.e.* invisible. This quatrain is *Ṣūfī*-istic—The 'Rose' is God.

[3] *Vide* p. 311 note .2. In this ode again the 'Rose' is God.

Make not this inn with two doors a palace for thine abiding
For strife makes rents in its walls and the wind of death is keen.
Hasan Hajrī in beauty of verse and in the way of perfection
Is the disciple of the wise man of Shirāz and of the saint of Tabrīz." [1]

" Sweet is the season of winter, especially in the spring-time of youth
If the rose of joy blossoms from the cup of wine."

" Happy was that night when the street of the tavern was our resting place,
And the splendour of the cup-bearer's form was the lamp of the assembly.
The breeze of re-union with the Beloved gave us fresh life,
Or it would have been difficult to live under the hand of separation."

" In the morning, the time for the rose and the splendour of the tulip,
The voice of the ringdove brought subtle truths to our ears." **388**

" My lodging is in the street of disgrace,
Its door is removed and its wall is mined."

" Yesterday I had a desire for the holy temple and made my way to the rose-garden,
I went and walked around [2] my loved one's lodging."

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[1] 'The saint of Tabrīz' is Maulānā Jalālu-d-dīn-i-Rūmī. The identity of 'the wise man of Shīrāz' is not so certain. He may have been Sa'dī or Hāfiẓ, probably the latter.

[2] طواف the ceremonial circumambulation performed around the *Ka'bah* at Makkah.

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Wash thy mouth with the water of repentance from the dregs of thy sins,
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separation."

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The voice of the ringdove brought subtle truths to our ears." 388

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Its door is removed and its wall is mined."

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way to the rose-garden,
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[1] 'The saint of Tabrīz' is Maulānā Jalālu-d-dīn-i-Rūmī. The identity of 'the wise man of Shīrāz' is not so certain. He may have been Sa'dī or Hāfiẓ, probably the latter.

[2] طواف the ceremonial circumambulation performed around the *Ka'bah* at Makkah.

"The rose, perchance, came to the rose-garden from beneath
my beloved's arm
For it has the sweet perfume of her shift."

"Whose spell-casting eyes have once more fluttered my heart?
Whose ringlets, diffusing ambergris, have once more become
the chain for my madness of love?"

"I fear that my hard-hearted love will wreck the affairs of my
soul.
Oh, may nobody have a love so hard-hearted as mine!"

"Who am I, fallen in the dust at her door? A helpless one,
A hopeless one, a friendless one, a destitute one."

"Ah, vagrant heart; thou hast chosen thy place in the dust at
her door!
Thou hast found a good place for thyself."

"If thou desirest faithful friends.
I swear by thy fidelity that none is more faithful than I."

"Desirous of being with thee for an age I have sought to be
with thee,
When I found that I could not be with thee I accustomed
myself to thy absence."

CLXVIII. Hāshim.

He was that Muḥammad Hāshim who was mentioned [1] in connection with Bairam Khān, the Khānkhānān. He was 389 brother's son to Maulānā Shāh Muḥammad Unsī.[2] He wrote poetry sometimes under the name of Samā'i and sometimes under that of Vāfī, but at last settled on the poetical name (Hāshim) which is now given to him. He had most excellent taste in poetry. The following verses are his :—

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[1] *Vide* vol. ii (text), p. 41, where Hāshim is mentioned as having sold to Bairām Khān for 60,000 *tankas*, a sum afterwards increased to 100,000 *tankas*, an ode which Bairām afterwards palmed off as his own. Hāshim is there described as 'Hāshimī of Qandahār.'

[2] Possibly Maulānā Shāh Muḥammad of Shāhābād, one of Akbar's translators. Vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 106, 540 and Badāonī, Vol. ii, text 595, 596-where he is described as a man of depraved mind.

"O turtle-dove, whatever thou bewailest in the garden
Thou must surely be thinking on her cypress-like form.
Like a sparrow I am caught in thy snare,
And thou neither slayest nor releasest me."

"I wander in the garden, when thy face is not before me, shedding tears of the colour of tulips,
I sit beneath each rose and tears of blood stream from my eyes.
In my grief for thee I am filled with blood as a flask is filled with wine, and I desire
To pour out at thy banquet-like wine the blood with which I am filled.
I shed not tears from my eyes except on the dust at thy door;
How shall I pour forth my honour in the dust at every door?
Remembering her wheat-coloured face I sow in the plot of desire
The grains of my tears which are the seeds of love's madness.
I, Hāshim, like the wine-flask, shed every moment red tears, while I sigh like an organ thinking on her wine-coloured lip."

"It is not thy mole, O silver-bodied one, that casts its reflection in the wine,
It is the pupil of my eye, drowned in my heart's blood"

A quatrain.

"O thou whose ringlets are the fetters of my love-sick heart,
I am distracted by those two ringlets like ambergris in colour and perfume. 390

Thou didst say 'Die then of the pain of love for me;'
It is an age since I have been dying of this love."

It has been said before that the K͟hānk͟hānān, Bairam K͟hān bought one of his *g͟hazals* for a *lākh* of *tankas*. The ode was that which began.

"Who am I? one who has dropped from his hand the reins of his heart.
And has fallen by the hands of his heart in the road of grief."

His death occurred in the city of Lāhor, in A.H. 972 (A.D. 1564-65).

Conclusion.

This is the account of some of those poets, most of whom were contemporary with the author and were writing during the time in which he was writing, and whose *dīvans* are current in this age and are circulated as examples. As for those who have leapt from the net of this memoir and are here neither described nor indicated by casual mention, I make them over to those who shall hereafter set foot in the plain of existence, for this series (of poets) is as endless as the *Burhán-i-Taṯbīq*[1], and to comprehend them all within the limits of one age, or one short space of time is beyond the limits (of any capacity) and beyond the extremity (of its powers).

A māṣnavī.

"Two couplets one day seared my heart,
As the singer was chanting them to his guitar
Many Junes, Decembers, and Aprils
Will come after we have become dust and bricks,
While those who are now invisible to me
391 Will come and pass over my dust."

Praise be to God! My pen, in its atrabiliousness, has, like a madman, dealt drily and coolly with everybody, and has poured out from the cup of its heart every drop of black bile which it had in its spot of original sin[1] and given forth from the columns[2] of its fingers all that came to its tongue, so that (I am not sure) what those who come after we will say when, in their search for treasure[3] they have hastened[4] in the tracks of the crows' feet of this impudent (pen), [5] or what answer I shall give in respect of all my idle gossip. I fear that in accordance with the saying, 'Thou shalt be treated as thou hast treated others' they will deal with me as I have dealt with these poets.

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[1] I take this to be the name of a book. The words mean 'the demonstration of comparison.'

"Thou hast called me a promise-breaker, but I fear
That this accusation will be laid to thy charge on the day of resurrection."

But there is here a subtle distinction if the discriminating neglect it not, and it is this, that I have apportioned eulogy and execration according to the canon of the unmistakable sacred law and have bestowed praise and blame in accordance with my zeal for the faith, and my case is similar to that of the boor who entered a company seated at table and began to eat without any regard to the others, and collected all the dishes round himself. One of the company said, 'Sir, who are you, and why do you thus intrude upon us?' He replied, 'I am a Turk, and I am a servant of the *dārogha*,[6] and I am hungry.' But if others, besides myself, should be jealous for the faith I shall not resent their criticism; may, rather, my life is a sacrifice for those people who shall apprise me of my faults. But if they be not jealous for the faith let them hang their heads and hold their peace; for in truth the bird of my pen, with its sharp bill and its sublime flight, is in the position of that beast [1] which shall come forth as the first sign of the Judgment Day, for it stamps on the fore-392 heads of the circumstances of the folk of this last age the words 'this one is a Muslim,' or 'this one is an infidel,' exalting some to God's mercy and setting apart others as accursed, and the saying of the prophet (may God bless and assoil him,) is clear on this point, 'O God, I have not blessed in my prayers any but him whom Thou hast blessed, and I have not cursed in my cursings any but him whom Thou hast cursed." It is related that that chief of the prophets (may God bless and assoil him while the sun and the moon shall rise) invoked curses on the polytheistic 'Arabs and on the chiefs of the Quraish, and particularly on one mentioned by name, for a whole month after he had been slandered[2] by the wicked, and said, 'O God, curse the infidels, who stray from Thy way, who make Thy prophet a liar, and who slay Thy saints. Thou art Lord of this world and the next. O God, preserve me in safety, and join me to the pious!' And, since the end is but a return to the beginning, there is, in these days when the faith is exiled (for 'the faith appears as a stranger, and verily, it has become as it appears') every occasion for the constant recital of the following prayer, 'O God, assist him who assists the religion of Muḥammad and forsake him who forsakes the faith of Muḥammad!'

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[1] سويدا (*suwaidā*) the black spot of original sin which the Musalmāns believe to be in every heart.

[2] جداول 'ruled columns.'

[3] The text has كنجكاو and MS. (A) has كنجكا of neither of which can I make sense. كنجكاو the reading of MS. (B), given as a variant in the text, is correct.

[4] The text has وديده. The variant دويده given in the text on th authority of MS. (B) is correct.

[5] زاغ پاي كج كلا. The letter ة at the end of كلاة is not in the text.

[6] Prefect of a town or village. In India, a police officer.

The author of the *Mirṣādu-l-'Ibād* [3] four hundred years ago uttered his complaint and said :—

"O kings of the earth, hasten, all of you,
That you may catch the perfume which is all that is left of
the faith!

---

[1] دابّة الارض, the beast which, according to the Musalmāns, is to come forth as the first sign of the coming Judgment Day, touching the believers with the staff of Moses and marking the faces of the infidels with the seal of Solomon.

[2] The text has قذوت. MS. (A) has قنوت, which appears to be the correct reading.

[3] I regret that I have been unable to find mention of this book, or of the name of its author. The meaning of the title is 'a highway for (God's) servants.'

Islām has gone from your hands, and ye heed it not ;
Infidelity has captured the world, and ye sleep ! "

Forsaking the custom of authors, who have in respect of each of their works, of whatever sort, a hundred hopes of favour from the age and from the people of the age, and, having dedicated a work to somebody, make it a means of being admitted to the intimacy of kings, of begging for rewards, and of attaining their objects I, without desire or expectation (of material gain but) seeking aid from God, trusting in Him, and firmly laying hold of 393
the skirt of his universal favour and his bounty well-known in bygone times, have placed these, my first fruits, on the dish of speech merely for the sake of virtuosos among those to come, who may be desirous of, and anxious for, information regarding our times, that haply its flavour may please the palates of their souls, and also that some relish from the morsels on the table of their favour may become the lot of the palate of the compiler of the work, who is, as it were, their gardener.

If thou drink wine, pour a draught out on the ground,
Fear not that sin which carries some gain to others.[1]

I shall now explain what it was that originally led me to collect these fragments.[2] Since a complete revolution, both in legislation and in manners, greater than any of which there is any record for the past thousand years, has taken place in these days, and every writer who has had the ability to record events and to write two connected sentences has, for the sake of flattering the people of this age, or for fear of them, or by reason of his ignorance of matters of faith, or of his distance from court, or for his own selfish ends, concealed the truth, and, having bartered his faith for worldly profit, and right guidance for error, has adorned falsehood with the semblance of truth, and distorted and embellished infidelity and pernicious trash until they have appeared to be laudable, confirming the truth of the verse, 'These are they who have purchased error at the price of true direction: but their traffic hath not been gainful,'[1] I am convinced that the people of succeeding generations who shall see their false fables and all their unprofitable prolixity will, in accordance with the saying, 'he who hears dispenses with the solution of his difficulties,' with another class of men, regretful not in the least, be perplexed, and will expect and await (something else), and therefore, that the veil may be drawn aside, it is incumbent on me, who am acquainted with some, at least, of the affairs narrated, 394 and have even been intimately connected with these transactions, to place on record what I have seen and what I have heard, for my evidence regarding these things is that of an eye-witness who is certain of what he relates, and does not spring from mere supposition and guess-work ('and when can that which is heard resemble that which is seen?) in order that, on the one hand, my record may be an expiation of the writings,[2] past and present, which I have been compelled and directed to undertake, and, on the other, right may be proved to be on the side of the Muslim's and mercy may be shown to me.

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[1] *i.e.* 'pour a draught on the ground that those who are dead and turned to dust may benefit by it.' The conceit is a favourite one among Persian poets and occurs in the 'tomb-song' of Hāfiẓ (ode 439, Jarrett's edition), and frequently in the quatrains of 'Umar-i-Khayyām.

[2] Literally 'potsherds.'

'Perchance some pious man may one day put up a prayer for
mercy for this poor wretch.'

And when I examine the matter well I perceive that this rough draft, and other rough drafts like it, have all the merits of fair copies, for, in conformity with the couplet.

Reduce a word at once to writing.
For words slip suddenly from one's memory,

Something, at least, of what the author knows whether by having seen occurrences or by having heard of them, is (at once) entered in them and reduced to writing. At the same time, to efine such scribblings as literary compositions can, to do no more than justice, be nothing but mere boasting and vaunting, which are repugnant to refined natures, and so far am I from vain-glory and pride in this matter that I am ashamed of them, and if I should attempt any lofty flights regarding them this base coin of mine, this worthless and contemptible merchandise, my faulty and inappreciated style, is sufficient to refute and falsify my claim.

---

[1] اُولٰئِكَ الَّذِيْنَ اشْتَرَوْا الضَّلَالَةَ بِالْهُدَا فَمَارَبِحَتْ تِجَارَتُهُمْ *Qur'ān*, ii, 15.

[2] Badāonī here refers to the works undertaken by him under the orders of Akbar, *viz.*:—the translation of the *Mahābhārata* and the compilation of parts of the *Tārīkh-i-Alfī*, (vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 104, 199, and Badāonī, in text), 320, 399.

In these matters nobody knows me as well as I know myself.

A Story by way of Moral.

A fox said to a camel, 'O uncle,
Tell me truly whence you come.'
The camel replied, 'Lo, I come from the bath
Where I have bathed my limbs in water hot and cold.'
The fox said, 'You have fine proof of what you say,
For both your forelegs and your hindlegs are very dirty.'

It is now high time for me to raise the hand of supplication to the court of that Providence who lacks nothing and who cherishes his servants, and to ask of Him that which shall be most expedient for me, although His glorious majesty is fettered by no expediency. I shall therefore conclude with the following supplications, which are free from all spaciousness and elaboration, and are (therefore) not far from the assurance of a favourable answer.

Supplications.

O King, look upon us with the eye of acceptance and mercy! O Lord of all things, visible and invisible, compose us in the seeking of Thy will, and remove from our way, and from the way of all Muslims, all disunion, disquiet, and perplexity! Bestow Thy pardon and forgiveness on us in our time. Let Thy gracious favour and guidance both impel and lead us. Deliver us not up into the hands of our own disunion and leave us not to ourselves, neither entrust us with ourselves, but preserve us from our own wickedness, and bring our affairs and those of all Muslims to a happy conclusion in Thy pardon and acceptances. Pardon what we have done in the past and preserve us from what we would do in the future.

Whatever Thou bestowest on Thy servant, bestow on him faith,
Bestow on him adherence to Thy will.

Forsake us not in Thy wrath; let us not be occupied with any but Thee. Displace us not from Thy remembrance. If Thou shouldst question us we have no answer ready, if Thou art angry we have no strength to abide it. From Thy servant proceed faults and lapses, and from Thee all pardon and mercy. O Ancient of Days that changest not, and Glorious one without peer! O Hidden and Omniscient God, Thou that hearest and seest, that hast no need of description or explanation, our faults
396 are many, and Thou knowest and seest us: grant unto us a good end, let us die Muslims, and join us to the pious; and bless and assoil Muḥammad and the race of Muḥammad, and all Thy prophets and apostles.

Look on me as though I were entirely free from disobedience,
Consider not mine offences, consider Thy mercy.
Ward off from me all the evils of the age,
Keep me afar from every evil that there is,
So direct for me all worldly affairs and religious matters,
That I may be free from want in both worlds.
By Thy favour Thou keepest me in safety
From the calamities and tumults of these latter days.
Thou accomplishest the desires of Thy poor servant,
Thou makest me a partaker of worldly and spiritual blessings.
Deliver me not helpless into the hands of mine own lusts,
But grant me protection from my dominant lusts.
Send me not as a beggar before any one,
My begging is at Thy door and no other.
Give me a portion of lawful gain,
Give me a corner apart from the worldly.
Pardon and veil my sin,
For it is Thou that veilest and pardonest sins.
Grant me knowledge of Thine eternal bounty,
Free me from ignorance and error.

Preserve me from companionship with the unworthy
Cause me to meet with a pious and sympathetic friend.
Set my face on the road towards Thee,
Free me from all else but Thee.
Accomplish not my desire in any object
The end of which will bring me shame.
No one but Thee knows what is for my good,
Thou knowest my loss and my profit.
Enrich me with the treasure of contentment,
Give me ease in the joy of serving Thee.
Incline me not to objects of this world,
Make my heart cold to such desires.
So accustom me to thoughts of Thee
That I may think on no other but Thee.
Open before me the door of knowledge of Thee
And in that privy chamber impart Thy secrets to me.
Give me a cup from the flagon of love
And grant me, from that wine, a new intoxication.
So fashion my inclinations to the world to come 397
That I may no more desire the things of this world.
Though death shall rend my upper garment
Let not the dust of this world settle on my lower garment.
When the sword of death cleaves my life,
When 'Azāzil[1] shall resolve to accept the faith,
Of Thy mercy cast one glance towards me,
Open in my face the door of Thy favour,
Declare to me the glad tidings of Thy gracious forgiveness.
That I may have rest in the sleep of death.
Grant unto me such power that, in that perplexity,
My cross-examination[2] may be easy to me.

---

[1] Satan.

[2] After a corpse is laid in the grave it is visited by Munkir and Nakīr, two black livid angels, of a terrible appearance, who order the dead person to sit upright and examine him as to his faith. If he answer rightly they suffer the body to rest in peace and it is refreshed by the air of Paradise, but if not they beat him on the temples with iron maces. They then press the earth on the corpse, which is tormented till the day of resurrection.

When the people of this world set their faces towards the resurrection.
And raise their heads in bewilderment from the dust:
Captured, by their evil fate, in disobedience
Their faces blackened with shame for their sins,
When, in that confusion, in the heat of the Resurrection Day,
The rocks shall become water from the fierceness of the sun's rays,
When there shall not be, in all that plain full of grief
Any refuge but the shadow of the Most High,
Of Thy bounty, O Creator, Lord of many claims,
Cast the shadow of Thy favour on my head!
When the balance of justice is brought into the midst
And the deficiency and excess of all shall be made apparent,
When I shall have in my company mountains of sin,
Beside which the mountains shall seem no larger than a blade of grass,
It is not impossible to Thine illimitable mercy
To weigh down the scale of my obedience:
In that place of fear and confusion
When the records of each one's acts shall fly open
And my record shall be so black
That it will be impossible to enter any fresh sin therein,
Wash my record with the cloud of Thy clemency,
And, by that washing, raise me to honour:
When the fire of hell shall leap forth as a banner
To draw to itself all the people of the world
Pour, of Thy grace, some water on my fire
And bring me forth purified from that fire.
When over hell the narrow bridge[1] shall appear

---

[1] الصراط (*aṣ-ṣirāṭ*) the bridge over the midst of hell, which is here graphically described, must be passed by all after the Judgment. Muḥammad and his Muslims will, with God's aid, pass rapidly over its path, narrower and sharper than the edge of a knife, but the unbelievers, following them, will lose their footing, and fall through the briars, which hedge it in on either side, into the flames of hell.

And the people shall raise a shout for joy,[1]
That bridge, long as the dark nights of separation,
Soul-melting as the sighs from lovers' hearts,
Narrower than a hair,
Darker than the smoke of the night of separation,
Sharper than a sharp cutting sword,
Shooting forth tongues of flame like hell fire,
If Thou take me not by the hand, woe is me,
For the nethermost pit of hell will be my place!
I bring no goods with me but hope,
O God, make me not hopeless of forgiveness!

Praise be to God, and thanks, that after all this smearing of myself with the smoke of the midnight lamp and all this fever of the brain I have gained freedom from this hasty work. Ah, how much distraction have I not suffered at the hands of these troubled times, before this valuable coin of time (to complete my work) and this priceless jewel (the work itself) was obtained.

Please God this work will, for a while, be preserved from the treachery of lack of preservation,[2] of faithlessness, or of evil guardianship, and will thus be safeguarded from the picking and stealing of the ignorant cutpurses of this age, and, being constantly hidden under the protection of God's guardianship, will receive the ornament of acceptance, and no damage will reach it from the evil eyes of squinting (rogues) of varying degrees,[1] and the hands of impotent (foes) will fail to reach the skirt of the beauty of this creature of my wit, and whoever is not admitted to the knowledge of its secret will remain disappointed.

---

[1] نشاط. Joy does not, at first sight, appear to be an emotion suitable to the occasion. The meaning may be either that men will be overjoyed to see that hell is bridged at all, or that the devils in hell will rejoice to see that the bridge is so perilous.

[2] Badāonī here declares his intention of keeping this work, the *Muntakhabu-t-Tavārīkh*, a secret. His anxiety that it should not become known during his life-time will be easily understood by anybody who has read it. He designed it to be a counterblast, in the interests of Islām, to the writings of Abū-l-Faẓl and his elder brother Faiẓī, who had borne the chief part in leading Akbar into the paths of religious speculation and had so far succeeded in leading him away from orthodoxy as almost to persuade him that he was God. According to a statement in the *Mir'ātu-l-'Ālam* the book was made public during the reign of Jahāngīr, who showed his displeasure by disbelieving the statement of Badāonī's children that they had not known of its existence. Badāonī's work was certainly not known in A.H. 1025 (A.D. 1616), the tenth year of Jahāngīr's reign, in which year the *Ma'āṣir-i-Raḥīmī* was written, whose author complains of the want of a history besides the *Ṭabaqāt* and the *Akbarnāma*.

A thousand thanks to the God of the world.
For that I have entrusted my jewel to one who can appraise
jewels.

It was the intention of my languid and secretive [2] heart and my wearied mind to gather together the "*Key to the History of Kashmīr*,[3] and the histories of the Kings of Gujarāt, Bengal and Sind, with an account of the wonders of India, and to have them bound together in one volume with this, but that stuff did not match this, for silk must be joined with silk. Therefore, on Friday, the twenty-third of the month *Jamādī'u-s-Sānī* A.H. 1004 (March 5, A.D. 1595) I shortened the rope of prolixity and contented myself with writing this much. I composed the following verses with the object of giving, in an enigma, the date of its completion :—

Thanks be to God, by whose clemency this Selection [4] has
arrived at completion
When I sought the date of it from my heart (my heart)
replied
(It is) a selection which has no second.

Praise be to God whose assistance has enabled me to complete it, and blessings and peace be on the best of mankind, our lord

---

[1] Badāonī here does not hesitate to attack the highest.

[2] The text here has ساطر (*sāṭir*) 'a butcher,' or 'butcherly,' which makes no sense. MS. (A) has ساتر (*sātir*) which I have translated. Badāonī apparently refers again to his intention of keeping his book a secret.

[3] This was, apparently, the History of Kashmīr, based on that of Mullā Shāh Muḥammad of Shāhābād, which Badāonī, by Akbar's order, compiled in A.D. 1591. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 374.

[4] The letters of the word انتخاب ('selection') have the following values, 1 + 50 + 400 + 600 + 1 + 2 = 1054. If we subtract the value of the *second* letter, 50, we obtain the date 1004.

Muḥammad, and on his family, and on his great companions, till the Day of Resurrection.

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Tārīkh-i Baihaqī by Abu'l-Faḍl Baihaqī. History of Sultān Mas'ūd
Ghaznawī son of Sultān Maḥmūd.

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BIBLIOTHECA INDICA.

WORK NO. 97.

MUNTAKẖABU-'T-TAWĀRĪKẖ.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

MUNTAKHABU-'T-TAWĀRĪKH

BY

‘ABDU-'L-QĀDIR IBN-I-MULŪKSHĀH

known as

AL-BADĀONĪ.

VOLUME III.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN AND EDITED BY

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CALCUTTA:

PRINTED AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS.
PUBLISHED BY THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

1925.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

This volume completes the translation of the *Muntak̲h̲abu-'t-tawārīk̲h̲* of 'Abdu-'l-Qādir b. Mulūk S̲h̲āh, al-Badāonī, in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series. Its sources are those enumerated by Lieutenant-Colonel G. S. A. Ranking in the preface to his translation of volume I.

It was begun as long ago as 1897, but owing to the constant pressure of official duties was not finished until 1909, and even then could not be immediately printed owing to difficulties in the way of allotting funds for the expenses of publication. The index and list of errata have only lately been finished.

Frequent interruptions in the work are responsible for some inconsistencies in transliteration—such, for instance, as S̲h̲amsu-'d-din and S̲h̲ams-ud-din, K̲h̲āja, K̲h̲'āja, and K̲h̲ẉāja. My excuse for the frequent omission of any equivalent for the letter و in transliterating the latter word is that the translation was made, for the most part, in India, where the frequent pronunciation of this mute letter was so offensive that at the time I judged it better to preserve the correct pronunciation by omitting it. I confess that this is not a very good excuse for the omission of a letter, but it is the best that I can offer.

I have nothing to add to Lieutenant-Colonel Ranking's remarks on the difficulty of translating from Persian, except that they apply with peculiar force to an author like Badāonī, writing in a language not his own. His style is stilted and inelegant, as must nearly always be the case with an author labouring under this disadvantage, and he persists in one error —the misuse of the word غبطه, which means "ungrudging emulation," but is always used by him in the sense of "envy" —but it is free from the bombastic prolixity and gross affectation of that of his compatriot and contemporary, S̲h̲aik̲h̲ Abū-'l-Faẓl.

As this volume of the historian's work consists to a great extent of literary criticism, I have been careful to translate both his text and the excerpts of verse quoted by him as literally as possible, in order to convey some idea, however faint, of his standard of literary excellence. In only one or two passages, to which reference is made in notes, have I ventured to modify expressions which in an English dress would have been merely ridiculous; but I am conscious that many of the passages which I have rendered more exactly will appear grotesque. This was unavoidable, and is due partly to the wide divergence between the standards of taste of Persian writers of the sixteenth and English readers of the twentieth centuries, and partly to Badāonī's own defects.

A few passages are so indecent that I have been constrained to veil them in such disguise as a dead language affords. To this practice it may be objected that it calls attention to what is unseemly, but a book of this nature will seldom be taken up but by genuine seekers after knowledge, who are not likely to suffer harm from the obscenities of Badāonī, or of those whom he quotes.

Interruptions in the work of translation are also responsible for a rather long list of *errata*, for which, and for other imperfections I crave the indulgence of my readers.

W. H.

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.
April 7, 1924.

INDEX

TO

MUNTAK̲H̲ABU-T-TAWĀRĪK̲H̲

VOLUME III.

(The numbers refer to the pages; *n* stands for foot-note.)

A.

Aban, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, of Amroha, **63**, 64, 65.
'Abbās I, S̲h̲āh, 283 *n* 4, 302 *n* 1, 322 *n* 1, 324 *n* 1, 498 *n* 1.
'Abdu-'l-'Azīz, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, 83, 163, 164.
'Abdu-'l-Bāqī-yi-Cis̲h̲tī, Miyāṅ S̲h̲aik̲h̲, of Badāon, 91.
'Abdu-'l-G̲h̲afūr, Maulānā, 157.
'Abdu-'l-G̲h̲afūr, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, of A'ẓampūr, 69, 70.
'Abdu-'l-G̲h̲anī, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, 28, **164**, 165, 166, 167.
'Abdu-'l-Ḥaqq, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, **167**, 168, 169, 170, 171.
'Abdu-'l-Ḥayy, Mīr, of K̲h̲urāsān, 110, 111, **378**, 379, 380, 497.
'Abdu-'llāh, Mīr, see Vaṣfī.
'Abdu-'llāh, Mīr, of Mas̲h̲had, the jurist, 378.
'Abdu-'llāh, Miyāṅ S̲h̲aik̲h̲, of Badāon, **90**, 91, 92, 93.
'Abdu-'llāh, Maulānā, of Qandahār, 78.
'Abdu-'llāh, Mullā, of Lāhor, 438.
'Abdu-'llāh, Mullā, of Sulṭānpūr, see Mak̲h̲dūmu-' -Mulk.
'Abdu-'llāh, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, 82.
'Abdu-'llāh, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, of Badāon, 106.
'Abdu-'llāh K̲h̲ān, Sayyid, 450 *n* 3.
'Abdu-'llāh K̲h̲ān the Uzbak (of Humāyūn's and Akbar's court), 11, 450 *n* 2.
'Abdu-'llāh K̲h̲ān the Uzbak (ruler of Transoxiana), 199, 210, 211, 452 *n* 2.
'Abdu-'llāh Niyāzī, Miyāṅ, of Sirhind, **73**, 74, 75, 77.
'Abdu-'llāh-i-S̲h̲aṭṭārī, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, 7 *n* 1.
'Abdu-'l-Laṭīf, Mīr, of Qazvīn, **148**, 149, 150, 444 *n* 3, 463 *n* 3.
'Abdu-'n-Nabī, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, **127**, 128, 129, 130, 131, 199, 232, 411 *n* 1.
'Abdu-'l-Qādir Badāonī, see Badāonī.
'Abdu-'l-Qādir, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, (I) 51.
'Abdu-'l-Qādir, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, (II) 51, **91**.
'Abdu 'l-Qādiri-'l-Jīlānī, Sayyid, *Pīr-i-Dastgīr*, 52 *n* 4.
'Abdu-'l-Qādir, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, of Lāhor, 152, 153.
'Abdu-'l-Qādir, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, of Ucch, **141**, 142, 143.

'Abdu 'l-Quddūs, Shaikh, of Gangoh, 5, 69, 82, 127.

'Abdu-'r-Raḥīm, Mīrzā, Khān-i-Khānān, 152, 166, 173, 174, 193, 262, 273, 302 *n* 1, 304 *n* 3, 318 *n* 2, 351, 393, 429 *n* 1, 439 *n* 4, 440, 454 *n* 2, 473, 495, 508.

'Abdu-'r-Raḥmān, Ghāzī, 46 *n* 6.

'Abdu-'r-Raḥmān, deputy of Ḥusain Khān, 10.

'Abdu-'r-Raḥmān, Shaikh, Balūṭī, 317.

'Abdu-'r-Razzāq, Maulānā, of Gīlān, 233 *n* 1, 432.

'Abdu-'r-Razzāq, Shaikh, 31, 33, 144.

'Abdu-'ṣ-Ṣamad, Khāja, *Zarrīn-qalam*, 85, 196, 429.

'Abdu-'sh-Shahīd, Khāja, **65**, 66.

'Abdu-'sh-Shakūr, Maulānā, of Lāhor, **157**, 158.

'Abdu-'l-Wahhāb, Miyāṅ, 58, 81, 168.

'Abdu 'l-Wāḥid, Shaikh, of Bilgrām, **106**, 107.

'Abdu-'l-Wajd, Shaikh, of Khavāf, 403.

Abhar, 279.

Abtarī, of Badakhshān, 263.

Ābū, Mount, 326.

Abū 'Alī Sīnā, 225, 226.

Abū Bakr, 25 *n* 3, 39, 117, 118, 195, 196, 225 *n* 3, 438 *n* 3.

Ābūgaṛh, see Ābū, Mount.

Abū Ḥanīfah, 5, 37, 41, 110, 125 *n* 4, 129, 135, 193 *n* 4, 210 *n* 4.

Abū Isḥāq, Miyāṅ Shaikh, 81.

Abū Isḥāq-i-Khatlānī, 84 *n* 5.

Abū Isḥāq-i-Mihrang, Shaikh, 60.

Abū-'l-Barakāt 'Abdu-'llāhi *b.* Aḥmad, *alias* Ḥāfiẓu-'d-dīni-'n-Nasafī, 4 *n* 2.

Abū-'l-Fatḥ, Ḥakīm, of Gīlān, 9, 10, 100, 101, 194, **233**, 234, 304 *n* 3, 305, 367 *n* 2, 383, 392 *n* 1, 393, 432.

Abū-'l-Fatḥ, Shaikh, of Gujarāt, 77, 78.

Abū-'l-Fatḥ, Shaikh, of Thānesar, 29, 46, **187**, 188.

Abū-'l-Faẓl, Shaikh, "'Allāmī," 55 *n* 4, 84 *n* 1, 98, 100, 110 *n* 3, 113 *n* 2, 114, 115, 116, 123 *n* 2, 124 *n* 2, 125, 128, 168 *n* 1, 173 *n* 5, 174, 193, 233 *n* 2, 234, 235 *n* 3, 248 *n* 2, 251 *n* 1, 260 *n* 2, 283, 284, 285, 287 *n* 7, 291 *n* 4, 293 *n* 2, 367, 375, 378 *n* 4, 405 *n* 1, 411 *n* 1, 413, 419, 439 *n* 4, 535 *n* 2.

Abū-'l-Ghaiṣ, Mīr, of Bukhārā, 182, **183**, 500.

Abū-'l-Ma'ālī, Qāẓī, of Samarqand, **210**, 211, 472.

Abū-'l-Ma'ālī, Shāh, **344**, 345.

Abū-'l-Ma'ālī, Shaikh, Ghurbatī, 51, 153, **154**, 155, 156.

Abū-'l-Qāsim, Shaikh, 318 *n* 2.

Abū Mūsā Muḥammad *b.* 'Umar Madīnī, Iṣfahānī, 49 *n* 1.

Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā, Sulṭān, 491 *n* 6.

Abū Turāb, Shāh, 164 *n* 4.

Abyssinians, 373 *n* 1.

Ādābu-'l-Murīdīn, 29.

Ādam, Malik, Kākar, 103, 104.

Adham Khān, 298 *n* 4, 308 *n* 3, 310 *n* 1.

Adhan, Shaikh, of Jaunpūr, **66**, 67, 68, 69.

'Ādil Shāhī Kings, 438 *n* 4.

'Adlī, 314 *n* 1.

Afghānistān, 37 *n* 4, 342 *n* 2.

Afẓal Khān, 408 *n* 4.

Afẓal Khān Kulāhī, see Kulāhī.

Āgra, 6, 8, 10, 11 *n* 5, 41 *n* 6, 55, 66 *n* 5, 77, 78, 110, 120, 124, 130, 135, 136, 141, 151, 152, 159 *n* 1, 161, 162, 168, 174, 175, 177, 182, 185, 196, 209, 210, 211, 212, 218, 229 *n* 1, 242 *n* 3, 263 *n* 4, 273, 277, 278, 283, 308 *n* 3, 314 *n* 1, 340, 358, 389, 399, 402, 410, 411 *n* 1, 437, 439, 443, 464, 469, 494, 508 *n* 1, 520 *n* 3.

Aḥadīs, 100, 317, 495, 518.

‘Ahdī, of S̲h̲īrāz, **390**, 391.

Aḥmad, Ḥakīm, of Tatta, **235**, 236.

Aḥmad, Malik, see Dak̲h̲lī.

Aḥmad, Qāẓī, 31, 32, 35 *n* 1.

Aḥmad, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, 127.

Aḥmad, Sulṭān, of Gujarāt, 240 *n* 5.

Aḥmad-i-G̲h̲affārī, Qāzī, of Qaẓvīn, **259**, 260.

Aḥmad-i-Jand, Mullā, 213, 218.

Aḥmad-i-Sūfīyak, 166.

Aḥmadābād, 70, 158 *n* 3, 198, 240, 241, 388 *n* 1, 501, 508 *n* 1.

Aḥmadī Fayyāẓ, S̲h̲aikh, **131**, 132, 133, 134.

Aḥmadnagar, 330 *n* 1, 419, 438 *n* 4, 458 *n* 4.

Aḥrār, K̲h̲āja, 150.

Aima tenure, 6.

Āīn-i-Akbarī, 1 *n* 2, 3 *n* 5, 5 *n* 2, 6 *nn* 3, 4, 11 *n* 2, 12 *nn* 3, 4, 14 *n* 2, 19 *n* 1, 26 *n* 4, 27 *n* 3, 28 *n* 2, 36 *n* 2, 37 *n* 1, 41 *nn* 3, 5, 45 *n* 2, 48 *n* 7, 50 *n* 2, 60 *n* 6, 62 *n* 7, 63 *n* 6, 65 *n* 6, 66 *n* 5, 69 *n* 2, 73 *nn* 3, 4, 76 *n* 2, 77 *n* 7, 83 *n* 1, 84 *n* 5, 85 *nn* 1, 3, 89 *n* 2, 100 *n* 7, 110 *nn*. 4, 6, 119 *n* 1, 120 *n* 4, 123 *n* 2, 124 *nn* 2, 3, 126 *n* 1, 127 *n* 2, 133 *n* 1, 137 *n* 4, 141 *n* 1, 145 *n* 2, 148 *n* 3, 150 *nn* 2, 3, 152 *nn* 1, 4, 159 *n* 1, 160 *nn* 3, 4, 161 *n* 4, 163 *nn* 2, 4, 165 *n* 3, 171 *n* 1, 173 *nn* 3, 4, 5, 180 *nn* 2, 3, 188 *n* 4, 190 *n* 2, 193 *nn* 1, 4, 194 *n* 1, 198 *n* 3, 212 *n* 2, 214 *nn*, 215 *n* 1, 216 *nn* 1, 3, 217 *n* 5, 218 *nn* 2, 4, 5, 226 *n* 5, 228 *nn*, 229 *n* 1, 230 *nn*. 1, 2, 231 *n* 1, 234 *n* 2, 237 *nn* 1, 4, 5, 238 *nn*, 240 *n* 5, 248 *n* 2, 249 *n* 2, 251 *n* 1, 253 *n* 3, 255 *n* 1, 258 *n* 3, 259 *n* 2, 260 *n* 2, 262 *n* 1, 263 *n* 4, 265 *nn* 1, 4, 271 *n* 6, 274 *n* 1, 275 *n* 1, 280 *n* 3, 283 *nn* 2, 4, 285 *nn* 2, 3, 286 *n* 1, 287 *n* 7, 288 *n* 2, 291 *n* 4, 292 *nn* 1, 2, 293 *nn* 1, 2, 294 *n* 1, 297 *n* 2, 298 *nn* 3, 4, 5, 299 *n* 3, 302 *n* 1, 304 *nn* 1, 3, 307 *n* 1, 315 *n* 1, 316 *n* 2, 317 *n* 1, 318 *n* 2, 319 *n* 4, 322 *nn*, 324 *n* 2, 325 *n* 2, 327 *n* 2, 329 *n* 1, 334 *nn* 1, 3, 335 *n* 3, 336 *nn* 4, 5, 337 *n* 2, 338 *n* 3, 340 *nn* 2, 5, 341 *n* 1, 342 *n* 1, 344 *n* 1, 345 *n* 2, 350 *n* 4, 351 *nn* 2, 3, 352 *n* 1, 353 *n* 3, 354 *n* 4, 356 *n* 2, 358 *n* 2, 359 *n* 2, 360 *n* 1, 361 *nn* 1, 2, 363 *nn* 2, 3, 365 *n* 1, 367 *nn* 2, 3, 368 *n* 1, 370 *n* 1, 372 *n* 2, 373 *n* 3, 374 *n* 4, 378 *nn* 1, 2, 379 *n* 1, 380 *n* 1. 381 *n* 2, 383 *n* 2, 384 *n* 1, 385 *n* 3, 386 *nn* 2, 5, 388 *n* 1, 389 *n* 2, 390 *n* 1, 391 *n* 1, 392 *n* 1, 396 *n* 1, 397 *n* 3, 398 *n* 4, 399 *n* 3, 401 *n* 3, 403 *nn* 1, 2, 405 *nn* 1, 2, 406 *n* 1, 407 *n* 1, 408 *n* 4, 409 *n* 2, 410 *n* 2, 411 *n* 1, 419 *n* 2, 420 *n* 2, 423 *n* 6, 429 *n* 1, 432 *n* 1, 435 *n* 2, 436 *n* 1, 437 *nn* 1, 2, 438 *n* 1, 439 *n* 3, 440 *n* 3, 442 *n* 2, 444 *n* 2, 447 *n* 2, 450 *nn* 2, 3, 4, 451 *nn* 1, 4, 453 *n* 3, 454 *n* 2. 458 *n* 3, 461 *n* 2, 462 *n* 2. 463 *n* 3, 465 *nn* 1, 4, 467 *n* 4, 468 *n* 1, 469 *n* 2, 471 *nn* 1. 5, 474 *n* 1, 475 *n* 2. 480 *n* 1, 483 *n* 2, 495 *n* 3, 508 *n* 1, 511 *n* 1. 512 *n* 2, 518 *n* 1, 520 *n* 3, 521 *n* 1, 522 *n* 1, 524 *n* 2.

'Ainu-'l-Mulk, Ḥakīm, of Shīrāz. Davā'ī, **229**, 230, 284, **320**, 321, 322, 390, 391.

Ajmer, see Ajmīr.

Ajmīr, 83, 136, 138, 140, 149, 150 *n* 2. 162, 198, 206, 207, 444 *n* 3.

Ajūdhan, or Pāk Pattan, 19 *n* 1, 21, 52, 452 *n* 2.

Akbar, Jalālu-'d-dīn Muḥammad, the Emperor, 1 *n* 6, 2, 6 *n* 4, 8, 10 *n.* 2, 11 *n* 5, 12 *n* 3, 18 *n* 5, 47, 55 *n* 4, 62, 66, 68, 83, 84, 85, 89, 99, 100, 101, 118 *n* 2, 119, 124, 126 *n* 1, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 134, 136, 137, 138, 141 *n* 3, 142, 147, 150, 163, 164, 174, 181, 198, 199 *n* 3, 201, 206, 213, 216, 225, 231, 232 *n* 1, 233, 234 *n* 2, 235 *n* 3, 237 *nn* 2, 5, 239, 240, 248 *n* 2, 249 *n* 2, 253, 254 *n* 2, 256, 262 *n* 2, 263 *n* 4, 264, 265, 266, 267, 274, 275, 278, 279, 280, 284, 285 *n* 3, 287, 293 *n* 2, 298 *n* 4, 299 *n* 3, 302 *n* 1, 303, 304 *nn* 1, 3, 308 *n* 2, 310 *nn* 1, 3, 311, 315, 316 *n* 2, 317 *n* 1, 318 *n* 2, 326 *n* 2, 327 *n* 2, 329 *n* 1, 331 *n* 1, 333 *n* 1, 334 *n* 4, 336 *n* 4, 343, 344 *n.* 1, 345 *n* 2, 349, 355 *n* 4, 362 *n* 1, 367 *n* 2, 370 *n* 4, 372 *n* 3, 374 *n* 5, 375, 378 *n* 1, 380, 383 *n* 1, 388 *n* 1, 389 *n* 2, 396, 399, 406 *n* 2, 407 *n* 1, 408 *n* 1, 409, 411 *n* 1, 413, 414, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422 *nn* 2, 3, 423, 425 *n* 3, 426, 429 *n* 1, 432 *n* 4, 433, 436, 441 *n* 3, 444 *n* 3, 450 *n* 4, 463 *n* 3, 466, 476 *n* 2, 491 *nn* 4, 6, 494 *n* 3, 496 *n* 2, 498 *n* 1, 499, 500, 512 *n* 2, 517, 520 *n* 3, 524 *n* 2, 530 *n* 2, 536 *n* 3.

Akbarnāma, the, (by Abū'-l-Faẓl), 3 *n* 5, 75 *n* 1, 77 *n* 7, 83 *n* 6, 84 *n* 1, 367, 419, 452 *n* 2, 535 *n* 2.

Akbarnāma, the, (by Shaikh Faiẓī), 511 *n* 1, 425 *n* 5.

'Alā'ī, Shaikh, of Biyāna, 74, 75, 77, 119.

'Alā'u-'d-Daulah, Mīr, Kāmī, 123; 148, 149, 239, 379, 384, **437**, 447, 467, 468, 477.

'Alā'u-'d-dīn, Mīr Sayyid, of Oudh, **101**, 102, 103.

'Alā'u-'d-dīn *b.* Muḥammad Shāh, Sayyid, 58 *n* 2.

'Alā'u-'d-dīn, Mullā, of Lāhor, 217.

'Alā'u-'d-dīn Cishtī, Shaikh, 3.

'Alā'u-'d-dīn Lārī, Mullā, 109, 329.

Alburz, 253.

Algiers, 341 *n* 1.

'Alī *b.* Abī Ṭālib, 20 *n* 1, 39 *n* 4, 48 *n* 2, 115, 120 *n* 2. 239 *n* 3, 266, 464, 503, 516 *n* 1.

'Alī, Amīr Sayyid, of Hamadān, 209

'Alī, Ḥakīm, 232.

'Alī, Mīr Sayyid, of Lūdhiāna, **144**, 145, 146.

'Alī, Mīr Sayyid, of Nalhar, 102.

'Alī, Mīr Sayyid, of Qum, 260.

'Alī, Mīr Sayyid, of Ṭabrīz, see Judā'ī.

'Alī, Mullā, the *Muḥaddis̤*, see Ṭāramī.

'Alī 'Ādil S̲h̲āh I, of Bījāpūr, 216, 229 *n* 1, 232 *n* 1, 330 *n* 1.

'Alī Aḥmad, Maulānā, see Nis̲h̲ānī.

'Alī Akbar, see Ṣānī K̲h̲ān, of Hirāt.

'Alī Barīd S̲h̲āh, of Bīdar, 330 *n* 1.

'Alī K̲h̲ān, Mīrzāda, **450**.

'Alī K̲h̲ān, ruler of Kas̲h̲mīr, 99.

'Alī Mūsā'u-'r-Riẓā, see Riẓā, Imām.

'Alī Mutaqqī, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, 71, 72.

'Alī Naqī'u-'l-Hādī, Imām, 472 *n* 2.

'Alī Qulī K̲h̲ān, S̲h̲āmlū, 262 *n* 1.

'Alī Rāī, of Little Tibat, 367.

'Alī S̲h̲īr, Amīr, 298.

'Ālim, Mullā, of Kābul, 'Ārif, Rabī'ī, 215, 363, **373**, 374, 375, 376, 378

Allāh Bak̲h̲s̲h̲, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, of Gaṛhmakhtesar, **96**.

'Allāhābād, see Ilāhābād.

'Allāmī, 513, see Abū-'l-Faẓl, S̲h̲aik̲h̲.

Alwand, 253.

Alwar, 21, 162, 163.

Āmānī, Mullā G̲h̲anī, **262**, 397.

Amar Singh, Rānā, 337 *n* 2.

Amarkot, 308 *n* 2.

Ambāla, 6 *n* 3, 47 *n* 4.

Ambeṭhī, 27, 28, 35, 36, 38, 131, 132, 189.

Amīnā K̲h̲āja, see K̲h̲āja-yi-Jahān.

Amīr Qāẓī, see Asīrī.

Amīr Beg, K̲h̲āja, 476.

Amroha, 3, 63, 64, 120, 219, 346.

Anīsī, Yol Qulī, 262.

'Anqā, 2.

Ansār tribe, 113.

Anūp Talā'o, 129.

Anwarī, the poet, 233, 508 *n* 1.

Anwāru-'t-tanzīl, 360 *n* 2.

'Aqā'id-i-Nasafī, 109.

'Āqil, see Ṣāliḥ the Madman.

'Arab Bahādur, 126 *n* 5, 229 *n* 1.

'Arā'isu-'l-Bayān, 17.

Ardabīl, 190, 191.

Ardastān, 237.

'Ārif, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, Ḥusainī, **98**, 99, 100, 101.

'Ārif, see 'Ālim, Mullā, of Kābul.

'Ārif-i-Jāmī, Maulavī, 49.

Aristotle, 225.

Arlāt clan, 286 *n* 1.

Arsalān-i-Jāẕib, 251.

Asadī, Ḥakīm, 251 *n* 2.

Āṣaf K̲h̲ān I, see G̲h̲iyāṣu-'d-dīn, Mīrzā.

Āṣaf K̲h̲ān II, see Ja'far Beg.

Āṣafī, 260, 271, 333, 521.

Aṣg̲h̲ar, Sayyid, 31, 32, 35 *n* 1.

As̲h̲kī, Mīr, of Qum, **260**, 261, 292 *n* 1, 325.

As̲h̲raf K̲h̲ān, 468.

As̲h̲raf K̲h̲ān, Mīr Muns̲h̲ī, **255**, 256.

Asia Minor, 20.

Asīrgaṛh, 174, 381 *n* 2.

Asīrī, Amīr Qāẓī, **255**, 256.

'Askarī, Mīrzā, 407 *n* 1.

Asrār-i-Maktūm, 203 *n* 2.

Astarābād, 411, 451.

Ataga K̲h̲ān, S̲h̲amsu-'d-dīn Muḥammad, 280, 298, 302 *n* 1, **308**, 309, 310, 336 *n* 2, 388 *n* 1, 396 *n* 1, 405 *n* 1, 454 *n* 2, 471 *n* 2.

Ātak, 75, 253, 274, 393, 501.

Ātas̲h̲ī, of Qandahār, **253**, 254.

Ātas̲h̲kada-yi-Āẕarī, 239 *n* 2, 240 *n*

3, 291 *n* 2, 292 *n* 3, 322 *n* 1, 408 *n* 4, 432 *n* 1, 454 *n* 1, 520 *n* 1.
Awadh, see Oudh.
'*Awārifu-'l-Ma'ārif*, 17, 19, 38, 225 *n* 3.
'Āyishah, 25 *n* 3.
'Ayyāẓ, Qāẓī, 130.
A'ẓam, Shaikh, of Badāon, 25, 26.
A'ẓam, Shaikh, of Lakhnau, 135.
A'ẓampūr, 69, 70.
Āzar, 425.
Āzarbāījān, 149, 338 *n* 3.
Āzarī, 269.
'Azāzīl, 533.
'*Aẓdī*, see *Aẓuḍī*, *al-*.
'Azīz Kūka, Mīrzā, Khān-i-A'ẓam, 229 *n* 1, 298 *n* 5, 302 *n* 1, 310 *n* 1. 329 *n* 1, 336, 376, 379, **388**, 389, 405 *n* 1, 461, 471.
'Azīzu-'llāh, Mīr, **386**, 387.
'Azīzu-'llāh, Shaikh, **14**, 15, 16, 17.
'Azīzu-'llāh, Shaikh, of Ṭalamba, 3, 4, 109.
'Azoo, Mr. R. F., 24 *n*
'*Aẓudī*, *al-*, 70, 124.
'Aẓudu-'l-Mulk, 216.

B.

Bābā Shīr, Qalandar, 498 *n* 1.
Bābar, Ẓahīru-'d-dīn Muḥammad, the Emperor, 43 *n* 4, 218 *n* 5, 253, 265, 378, 491 *n* 6.
Bābarī script, 378, 379.
Bābīl, see Babylon.
Bābū, Mīyāṅ, see 'Abdu-'l-Wahhāb.
Bābū, Āghā, 512 *n* 2.
Babylon, 488 *n* 1.
Badakhshān, 65, 84 *n* 5, 214, 263, 270 *n* 2, 344 *n* 1, 374, 409 *n* 2, 410, 441, 448, 461, 519.
Bādanjān, Mir, 233.
Badāon, 25, 31, 32 *n* 6, 58, 64, 65, 91, 106, 108, 152, 164, 165, 208, 329, 363 *n* 2, 385, 386, 397, 398, 419, 493.
Bādāonī, 'Abdu-'l-Qādir *b.* Mulūk Shāh, 1, 6 *n* 4, 7 *n* 1, 11 *n* 5, 22, 24 *n* 2, 25 *n* 3, 26 *n* 3, 32 *n* 1, 33 *n* 2, 38, 39 *nn* 1, 3, 40 *n* 3, 41 *n* 4, 57 *n* 1, 63 *n* 4, 81 *n* 1, 83, 84 *n* 1, 86, 88 *n* 5, 10, 10, 10, 108, 121 *n* 1, 125 *n* 1, 132 *n* 2, 142 *n* 1, 143 *n* 2, 145 *n* 6, 173 *n* 5, 185 *n* 1, 195, 202, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 231 *n* 3, 232 *n* 4, 233 *n* 2, 235 *n* 3, 248 *n* 1, 249 *n* 2, 269 *n* 1, 273 *n* 1, 283 *n* 4, 284 *n* 2, 292 *n* 1, 308 *n* 3, 317 *n* 3, 323 *n* 1, 330 *n* 1, 345 *n* 2, 350 *n* 4, 351 *n* 1, 372 *n* 3, 376, 385 *n* 2, 386 *n* 5, 389 *n* 2, 399 *n* 4, 417 *n* 2, 419, 420, 421, 441, 450 *n* 3, 458 *n* 2, 460 *n* 2, 465 *n* 4, 466 *nn* 2, 3, 474 *n* 1, 477, 480 *n* 3, 481 *n* 2, 483 *n* 2, 493, 5, 3, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 535 *n* 2, 536.
Badī'u-'z-Zamān, of Qazvīn, 299 *n* 3.
Baghdād, 12 *n* 4, 20, 52 *n* 4, 225 *n* 3, 293 *n* 2.
Bahādur Khān, 228 *n* 2, 314, 333.
Bahārī, 376, see 'Ālim, Mullā, of Kābul.
Bahā'u-'d-dīn, Khāja, see Naqshband.

Bahā'u-'d-dīn Muftī, Shaikh, 78, 113, 174.
Bahā'u-'d-dīn Zakariyā, Shaikh, 143.
Bahrāic, 46 *n* 6.
Bahrām, see Saqqā.
Bahrām Mīrzā, Ṣafavī, 476.
Bahroc, 134.
Baillie John, Captain, 29 *n* 6.
Bairam Khān, Khān-i-Khānān, 8, 14, 55, 77, 78 *n* 1, 83, 110, 122, 141, 152, 162, 185, 209, 217, 218, 227, 254 *n* 2, **265**, 266, 267, 280, 310 *nn* 1, 3, 335, 344 *n* 1, 351, 403, 437, 444, 469, 473, 475, 512 *n* 2, 524, 526.
Bajaur, 233 *nn* 1, 2.
Bajwāra, 159, 217.
Bakhtyār-i-Kākī, Khāja Quṭbu-'d-dīn, 19 *n* 1, 45.
Bakkar, 121, 124, 137, 138, 173, 498.
Bālīn, 324 *n* 1.
Balūṭ, 317.
Baṇāras, 7 *n* 21, 166, 242 *n* 1.
Bandar Jarūn, 473 *n* 1.
Bang, see Bangāl.
Bangāl, 8, 83, 177, 178 *n* 1, 188, 229 *n* 1, 314 *n* 1, 315, 341, 432 *n* 1, 433, 450 *n* 2, 536.
Banjū, Shaikh, of Sambhal, 97.
Banoda, 172.
Bānswāla, 127, 137.
Baqā'ī, **273**.
Baqā'ī, *alias* Rusvā'ī, 308.
Bāqī, of Kolāb, **270**.
Bārbud, 423.
Bardwān, 338 *n* 3, 450 *n* 2.
Bārī, 10, 475.
Bārī Dūāb, 10, *n* 2, 47 *n* 4, 345 *n* 3.
Barkhurdār, Mīrzā, Khān-i-'Ālam, see Hamdamī.
Basākhwān, 283 *n* 4, 285.
Basākhwānī sect, 283, 284, 285, 287, 513.
Basāwar, 26, 146, 162, 483.
Bayāt, 338 *n* 3.
Bayāẓī, **270**, 271.
Bāyazīd-i-Anṣārī, 37.
Bāyazīd, Shaikh, of Busṭām, 7, 328.
Bāz Bahādur, 407 *n* 1.
Bazhar, 188.
Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, 37 *nn* 4, 7.
Begum Pādshāh, 138.
Bellew, *Races of Afghānistān*, 73 *n*. 4.
Bengal, *see* Bangāl.
Berar, 83 *n* 7, 330 *n* 1, 372 *n* 3, 422 *n* 1.
Beth Jālandar Dūāb, 159 *n* 1, 217 *n* 3, 280.
Bhāgavad Gita, 511 *n* 1.
Bhakkar, see Bakkar.
Bharatpūr, 160 *n* 4.
Bhawānīgaṛh, 173 *n* 1.
Bhimbar, 513.
Bhūngāon, 66.
Bīdar, 330 *n* 1.
Bihār, 178 *n* 1, 263 *n* 4, 299 *n* 3, 520 *n* 3.
Bījānagar, see Vijayanagar.
Bījāpūr, 216 *n* 2, 229 *n* 1, 232 *n* 1, 330 *n*. 1, 380 *n* 2, 438 *n* 4.
Bīkānīr, 122.
Bīkasī, **268**, 269, 497.
Bikramājit, see Vikramāditya.
Bilgrām, 106, 107.
Bīnā, Shaikh, **237**, 238.
Bīr Bar, Rāja, 128, 233 *n* 1, 327 *n* 2, 351 *n* 1.
Bīrūn-i Panjnad, 47 *n* 6, 48 *n* 7.
Biyāh, the, 350.

Biyāna, 74, 160, 344 *n* 1, 436.
Bohara tribe, 83.
Bombay Presidency, 83 *n* 7.
Bughrā Khān, king of Khārazm, 215 *n* 4.
Buhlūl Lodī, Sulṭān, 58 *n* 2.
Buhlūl, Shaikh, 7, 43, **167**, 171.
Bukhārā, 197, 198, 210, 242 *n* 3, 336, 452, 472 *n* 2, 498 *n* 1, 526.
Burhān, Shaikh, **10**, 11, 12.
Burhān-i-Taṭbīq, 526.
Burhānpūr, 174, 231, 304, *n* 3, 495 *n* 3.
Burton, Sir Richard, *Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah*, 25 *n* 3.
Busṭām, 7, 222, 328.
Būstān, the, 90, 245.
Buzāq, 422 *n* 2.

C.

Caghatāī tribe, 307, 310, 356, 407, 408, 439.
Caghatāī, Sulṭān, 257.
Canār, 7, 11.
Cātgāṅv, 7 *n* 1.
Cāyan Ladh, Shaikh, **163**, 164.
Ceylon, 339.
Chatī, (Chat), 47, 52.
Chausā, see Jausā.
Chittagong, see Cātgāṅv.
Chunār, see Canār.
Cināb, the, 172 *n* 2, 513 *n* 4.
Cingīz Khān, of Gujarāt, 229 *n* 1.
Cinhat Dūāb, 513 *n* 4.
Cishtī order, 52, 69, 82 *n* 4.
Cishtī, Shaikh Husain, **297**, 298.
Citor, 11 *n* 5, 475.
Cūcak Begum, 344 *n* 1.

D.

Dāghistānī, 260 *n* 2, 405 *n* 1, 408 *n* 4, 452 *n* 2, 454 *n* 1, 474 *n* 1, 520 *n* 1.
Dāgh u Maḥallī regulations.
Dakan, 46 *n* 6, 74, 125, 170, 216, 229, 230, 239, 263 *n* 4, 273, 299 *n* 3, 302 *n* 1, 204 *n* 3, 318 *n* 2, 340 *n* 5, 341, 372, 373 *n* 1, 380, 383, 390, 429 *n* 1, 438, 441, 443, 447 *n* 2, 458, 460, 519.
Dakhan, see Dakan.
Dakhlī, Mālik Aḥmad, **318**, 319.
Dalpat, 520 *n* 3.
Damascus, 50.
Damāvand, 253 *n* 2.
Damayanti, 422 *n* 1.
Dānihī, **319**.
Dāniyāl, Sulṭān, 263 *n* 4, 383 *n* 1, 495 *n* 3, 496 *n* 1.
Darvīsh, Mullā, 370.
Darvīshābād, 324 *n* 1.
Dā'ūd, Mīr Sayyid, 136.
Dā'ūd, Shaikh, of Chatī, **47**, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 81 *nn* 1, 3, 82 *n* 4, 153, 154.
Dā'ūdiyyah order, 157.
Daurī, Mīr, Sulṭān Bāyazīd, Kātibu-'l-Mulk, **316**, 317, 318.
Davā'ī, see 'Ainu-'l-Mulk, Ḥakīm.
Dawwānī, Jalālu-'d-dīn, Maulānā, *Muḥaqqiq*, 202, 205, 229 *n* 1, 320, 329 *n* 1.
Dholpūr, 10 *n* 2.

Dībālpūr, 50, 344 *n* 1.

Dihlī, 3, 6 *n* 3, 8, 47 *n* 4, 58, 63 *n* 6, 73 *n* 3, 91, 97, 122, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 186, 188, 210, 219, 228, 254 *n* 2, 261, 275, 276, 277, 297, 310 *n* 3, 363 *n* 2, 390, 401 *n* 3, 411, 465, 474, 480, 512 *n* 2.

Dihnāma, the, 281.

Dīpālpūr, see Dībālpūr.

Diū, 389 *n* 2.

'Divine Era,' the, 425.

'Divine Faith,' the, 1, 118 *n* 2, 166 *n* 5, 198 *n* 3, 299 *n* 3, 389 *n* 2, 411 *n* 1, 414 *n* 1, 415 *n* 1, 422 *n* 2.

Dūg̲h̲albād, 385.

F.

Fahmī, of Astarābād, **411**.

Fahmī, of Samarqand, **405**.

Fahmī, of T̤ihrān, **405**, 508 *n* 1.

Fā'iqī, 403.

Faiẓī, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, Fayyāẓī, 86, 110 *n* 3, 118 *n* 1, 144, 157, 158, 160, 167, 170, 172, 173 *n* 5, 194, 195, 203, 230, 234, 235 *n* 3, 236, 250, 287 *n* 7, 297, 322 *n* 2, 323, 341, 361, 372, 393, **411**, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 446, 447, 460, 485 *n* 5, 486 *n* 2, 487 *n* 1, 521, 535 *n* 2.

Fak̲h̲ru-'d-dīn, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, **13**, 14.

Fanā'ī, **407**.

Farāh, 76.

Farā'iẓ, 94.

Farhād, 287, 359.

Farīd, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, 402.

Farīd, Maulānā, 175.

Farīd-i-S̲h̲akarganj, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, 18, 19, 50.

Farīdu-'d-dīn S̲h̲īr S̲h̲āh, see S̲h̲īr S̲h̲āh.

Farīdūn, 337.

Farīdūn, Mīr, 228.

Farīdūn Barlās, Mīrzā, 337 *n* 2.

Farīdūn K̲h̲ān, 337 *n* 2.

Fārig̲h̲ī, Mīr, of S̲h̲īrāz, **403**, 404.

Faris̲h̲ta, see Firis̲h̲ta.

Fārisī, Muḥammad S̲h̲arīf, **429**, 430, 431.

Fārs, 216, 338 *n* 3.

Farruk̲h̲ S̲h̲āh, 19 *n* 1.

Farruk̲h̲ābād, 93 *n* 5.

Fārūqī Dynasty, the, 229 *n* 5.

Fast, the continued, 40.

Fatḥpūr Sīkri, 18 *n* 5, 21, 26, 114, 127, 130, 131 *n* 4, 137, 142, 144, 149, 152, 162, 163, 167, 171 *n* 1, 181, 198, 274, 275, 298, 314 *n* 1, 370, 374, 381, 436.

Fatḥu-'llāh, Ḥakīm, of Gīlān, **237**.

Fatḥu-'llāh, Mīr, or S̲h̲āh, of S̲h̲īrāz, 193, **216**, 232, 380, 403, 420.

Fatḥu-'llāh Tarīn, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, of Sambhal, 21.

Fāṭimah, 48 *n* 2, 516.

Fawātiḥu-'l-Wilāyah, 373 *n* 3, 374.

Fayyāẓī, see Faiẓī, S̲h̲aik̲h̲.

Faẓīl, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, 296, 297.

Faẓīlat, Qāẓī, 126.

Faẓlu-'llāh, Mullā, Faẓlī, 464, 465.

Fikrī, Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad, the Weaver, nicknamed Mīr Rubā'ī, 352, **406**.

Firdausī, 251 *n* 2, 469 *n* 3.

Firishta, 19 *n* 1, 45 *n* 2, 269 *n* 1, 308 *n* 3, 363 *n* 2.

Fīrūza, of Kābul, **409**, 410, 411.

Fūlād Beg Barlās, Mirzā, 235, 236.

Fusūnī, of Yazd, **408**, 409, 498.

Fuṣūṣu-'l-Ḥikam, 17, 29, 163, 263.

Fuẓail *b.* 'Iyāẓ, 19.

G.

Gadā'i, Shaikh, 8, 77, **122**, 123, 141.

Gakkhars, the, 396 *n* 1.

Ganges, the, 7 *n* 2, 309, 314 *n* 1.

Gangoh, 5, 82, 83.

Gangū, see Gangoh.

Ganja, 394 *n* 2.

Gaṛha, 293 *n* 2.

Gaṛhmakhtesar, 96.

Gaṛhwāl, 10 *n* 2.

Garmsīr, 342 *n* 2.

Gaur, 254 *n* 2.

Ghairatī, of Shīrāz, **403**.

Ghauṡ-i-A'ẓam, Shaikh, 51, 52, 54, 58, 59, 135.

Ghauṡ-i-Rabbānī, 152.

Ghauṡiyyah order, 175.

Ghauṡu-'ṡ-Ṡaqalain, 50.

Ghazālī, of Mashhad, **239**, 240, 247, 260 *n* 2, 271, 330.

Ghāzī Khān, see Niẓām, Qāẓī.

Ghaznavī, Mīr Muhammad, Khān-i-Kalān, **396**, 397, 398.

Ghaznīn, 268.

Ghazzālī, Imām, 88.

Ghilzāī, 73 *n* 4.

Ghiyāṡ, Shāh, 518.

Ghiyāṡu-'d-dīn 'Alī-yi'-Ākhund, Naqīb Khān, 150, 173, 180, 444.

Ghiyāṡu-'d-dīn 'Alī, Mīrzā, Āṣaf Khān, 148, 180, 299.

Ghiyāṡu-'d-dīn Muhammad, of Mashhad, 287 *n* 7.

Ghorī, 327 *n* 2.

Ghubārī, Qāsim 'Alī Khān, **398**, 399, 400, 401.

Ghurbatī, of Hiṣār, **401**, 402.

Gīlān, 224, 234, 237, 304, 432, 495.

Gopāmau, 28, 30, 31, 35 *n* 1, 189.

Greeven, R, *Heroes Five*, 46 *n* 6.

Gujarāt (Panjāb), 513 *n* 3.

Gujarāt, 14 *n* 2, 74, 77, 78, 83, 84, 85, 98, 99, 114, 116, 134, 152, 153, 158 *n* 3, 168, 176, 192, 197, 214, 230, 247, 262, 263 *n* 4, 267, 273, 306, 323, 326, 344 *n* 1, 361, 381 *n* 2, 389 *n* 2, 390, 396 *n* 1, 450 *n* 2, 454 *n* 2, 468, 473 *n* 1, 498 *n* 1, 508 *n* 1, 512 *n* 2, 536.

Gul Afshān, 245.

Gulbahār, 376.

Gulkanda, 330 *n* 1, 438 *n* 4.

Gulshan-i-Rāz, 84.

Gunābād, see Junābād.

Gurgāon, 163 *n* 2.

Gwāliyār (Gwalior), 6, 9, 10, 44, 53, 62, 95, 126, 127 *n* 1, 158 *n* 3, 189, 380 *n* 1, 381, 466 *n* 3, 467 *n* 1.

H.

Ḥabash, Mīr, 438.
Ḥabību-'llāh, Khāja, 322 *n* 1, 323.
Ḥāfiẓ, the poet, 36, 37 *nn* 1, 3, 49 *n* 7, 105, 140 *n* 1, 149, 453 *n* 3, 523 *n* 1, 529 *n* 1.
Ḥāfiẓ-i-Kūmakī, **213**, 214.
Ḥāfiẓu-'d-dīni-'n-Nasafī, see Abū-'l-Barakāt.
Haft Iqlīm, 239 *n* 2, 240 *n* 3, 242 *n* 3, 260 *n* 2, 367 *n* 2, 406 *n* 1, 439 *n* 4, 452 *n* 2.
Haft Kishwar, 411 *n* 1, 425 *n* 5.
Haft Paikar, 411 *n* 1, 498 *n* 1.
Ḥaidar, Mīr, of Kāshān, see Rafī'ī.
Ḥaidarī, of T̤abrīz, **302**, 303, 304.
Haig, Major-General M. R., *The Indus Delta Country*, 89 *n* 2.
Haig, Major T.W., *Historic Landmarks of the Deccan*, 229 *n* 5, 330 *n* 1, 372 *n* 3, 373 *n* 1, 519 *n*. 1.
Ḥairatī, 148.
Ḥājī Begum, 168.
Ḥājī Khalfa (Ḥājī Khalīfa), 4 *nn* 1, 2, 17 *nn* 1, 2, 3, 25 *n* 1, 26 *n* 1, 29 *nn* 2, 3, 4, 41 *n* 5, 49 *n* 1, 70 *n* 9, 75 *nn* 4, 5, 84 *n* 3, 88 *n* 8, 92 *n* 7, 93 *n* 1, 287 *n* 5.
Ḥājī Mīrzā Beg, 367 *n* 3.
Ḥājī Muḥammad Khabūshānī, Shaikh, 338, 495.
Ḥājī Sulṭān, of Thānesar, 114, 115, 116, **173**, 174.
Hajrī, Ḥasan, **522**, 523.
Ḥakīm-i-Miṣrī, **230**, 231.
Ḥakīmu-'l-Mulk, of Gīlān, **224**, 225, 226, 232, 235.
Ḥālatī, Yādgār, 273 *n* 1, **307**, 308.
Halmund, 342 *n* 2.
Hamadān, 209, 253 *n* 2, 361, 471, 473 *n* 1.
Hamadānī sect, 118 *n* 2, 119.
Hamdam Beg, 'Abdu-'r-Raḥmān Duldā'ī, 521.
Hamdamī, Barkhurdār, Mīrzā, Khān-i-'Ālam, **520**, 521.
Ḥamīd, Ḥājī, 7.
Ḥamīd-i-Qādirī, Shaikh, 51, 141.
Ḥāmidpūr, 141.
Ḥāmzah, Amīr, 292.
Ḥāmzah, Shaikh, of Lukhnau, **103**, 104.
Ḥanafī sect, 130. 210.
Ḥanafī, Mullā, 248.
Ḥanīfah, Abū, see Abū Ḥanīfah.
Hānsī, 19 *n* 1.
Hardoī, 189 *n* 1.
Harībans, the, 345 *n* 2, 350 *n* 4.
Hārūt, 488.
Ḥasan, Imām, 48, 148.
Ḥasan, Ḥakīm, 219 *n* 2, **234**.
Ḥasan Khān Sūr, 178 *n* 1.
Ḥasan, Qāẓī, of Qazvīn, 381.
Ḥasan, Shaikh, 15, 119 *n* 1, 276.
Ḥasan, Shaikh, son of Shaikh Bīnā, 237.
Ḥasan Abdāl, 233 *n* 1, 235.
Ḥasan 'Alī, Shaikh, of Mauṣil, **192**, 193.
Hāshim, 97.
Hāshim, Muḥammad, **524**, 525, 526.
Hāshimī, of Kirmān, 242 *n* 3.
Ḥātim, Miyāṅ, of Sambhal, **3**, **4**, 5, **109**, 110, 111, 112, 113, 188.
Ḥātim, Shaikh, of Gopāmau, 30.
Ḥātim (poet), 508 *n* 1.
Ḥayā'ī, **306**.
Ḥayātī, of Gīlān, **304**, 305, 306.
Hemū, 254 *n* 2, 310 *n* 3, 314 *n* 1.
Ḥijāz, 14 *n* 2, 139, 157, 168, 176, 355 *n* 3, 361 *n* 1, 365, *n* 1, 383, 473 *n* 1, 519.

Ḥijāz K̲h̲ān, 385.

Himālayas, the, 327 *n* 2.

Hindāl Mīrzā, 286 *n* 1, 379, 380.

Hindaun, 161, 162.

Hirāt (Herat), 262 *n* 1, 286, 298, 304, 315 *n* 1, 316 *n* 2, 324 *n* 1, 334 *n* 4, 358, 406 *n* 2, 439 *n* 4, 451, 473 *n* 1, 494, 516, 517, 519.

Hirzu-'l-amāni wa Wajhu-'t-tahān, 41.

Hisāmu-'d-dīn, Miyāṅ, of Ṭalamba, 54.

Hiṣār Fīrūza (Hissar), 401, 465.

Hos̲h̲iyārpūr, 159 *n* 1.

Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, 27 *n* 6, 40 *n* 6, 52 *n* 4, 82 *n* 1, 85 *n* 4, 133 *n* 3.

Humāyūn, Nāṣiru-'d-dīn Muḥammad, the Emperor, 6 *n* 4, 8, 11 *n* 2, 89 *n* 2, 154, 161, 168 *n* 2, 199, 219, 246, 248 *n* 2, 253, 254, 265, 266 *n* 1, 267, 269, 275, 286 *n* 1, 293 *n* 2, 308 *n* 2, 309, 310 *n* 3, 314 *n* 1, 333 *n* 1, 334 *n* 4, 335, 344 *n* 1, 362 *n* 1, 378, 396 *n* 1, 407 *n* 1, 445, 450, 451 *n* 3, 491 *n* 6.

Humām, Ḥakīm, 199, 233 *n* 1, **234**, 432.

Hurmuz, 193, 323.

Ḥusain, Imām, 48.

Ḥusain, the K̲h̲ādim, 21.

Ḥusain, K̲h̲āja, of Marv, **248**, 249, 250, 251, 401.

Ḥusain, K̲h̲āja, of Mas̲h̲had, see Ṣanā'ī.

Ḥusain, Maulānā, see Naqs̲h̲ī.

Ḥusain-i-Mīdī, Qāẓī Mīr, 115.

Ḥusain, Mīr Sayyid, *K̲h̲ing-sawār*, 149.

Ḥusain, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, of Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān, **151**, 152.

Ḥusain, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, of Bazhar, 188.

Ḥusain, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, of Ajmīr, **136**, 137, 138, 139.

Ḥusain, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, of K̲h̲ārazm, 151, 214, 401.

Ḥusain Sulṭān, Langāh, 89.

Ḥusain K̲h̲ān, Tukruja, Muḥammad, 6, 31, 32, 34, 35, 37, 38, 42, 43, 46, 56, 60, 63 *n* 4, 103, 104, 134, 144, 397, 470.

Ḥusn u Nāz, 498 *n* 1.

Ḥuznī, Mīr, **304**.

Ḥuẓūr, Ḥājī, 6.

I.

'*Ibādat-K̲h̲āna*, the, 73, 74, 129 *n* 1, 163, 175, 180, 182, 196.

Ibn Hajar, 443.

Ibn K̲h̲allikān, 19 *n* 2, 37 *n* 7, 41 *n* 5.

Ibrāhīm, Ḥājī, of Sirhind, 84.

Ibrāhīm, Ḥājī, the Traditionist, **196**.

Ibrāhīm, son of Adham, 397.

Ibrāhīm, K̲h̲āja, 19.

Ibrāhīm, Sayyid, of Īrij, 41.

Ibrāhīm, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, 'Arab, 341.

Ibrāhīm Quṭb S̲h̲āh, 519.

Ibrāhīm-i-Cis̲h̲tī, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, 137.

Ibrāhīm Ḥusain, K̲h̲āja, the Ahadī, 317, 318.

Ibrāhīm Ḥusain, Mīrzā, 56, 61.

Ibrāhīm Lodī, Sulṭān, 43, 103.

Iḥyā'u-'l-'Ulūm, 29, 75, 88.

Ilāh Bak̲h̲s̲h̲, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, 152.

Ilāhābād, 66 *n* 9, 126 *n* 1, 158, 172, 380.
Ilāhābās, see Ilāhābād.
Ilāhdād, Miyāṅ, of Bārī, 10.
Ilāhdād, Miyāṅ, of Lakhnau, **134**, 135.
Ilāhdād, Maulānā, of Amroha, **219**, 346.
Ilāhdād, Maulānā, of Sulṭānpūr, **172**.
Ilāhdād-i-Langark̲h̲ānī, Maulānā, 215.
Iliyās, Maulānā, 190.
'Ilmī, Mīr Murtaẓā, **385**, 386.
'Imād (poet), 281.
'Imādiyyah Kurds, 520 *n* 1.
'Imāmī, Mīr, Mug̲h̲baca, **257**.
Imperial Gazetteer, the, 10 *n*. 2, 120 *n* 4, 124 *n* 3, 145 *n* 2, 159 *n* 1, 160 *n* 2, 161 *n* 4, 163 *n* 2, 173 *n* 1, 178 *n* 1, 189 *n* 1, 190 *n* 2, 196 *n* 3, 219 *n* 1.
'Ināyatu-'llāh, the Scribe, **391**.
'Irāq, 84 *n* 5, 190, 218 *n* 5, 239, 247, 258, 265, 283 *n* 4, 302 *n* 1, 304, 318, 443 *n* 2, 473 *n* 1, 474 *n* 1, 480, 519.
'Irāq-i-'Arab, 20 *n* 1.
Īrij, 41.
Īrvān, 338 *n* 3.
'Īsā, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, of Āgra, 188.
'Iṣāmu-'d-dīn, Mullā, of Isfarāīn, 210, 213, 214, 248.
Isaulī, 34.
Iṣfahān, 149, 258, 318 *n* 2, 351, 367, 463 *n*. 3, 508, 520.
Isfarāīn, 210, 213.
Isḥāq-i-Kākū, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, of Lāhor, **85**, 86, 87, 217.
'Is̲h̲qī K̲h̲ān, Maulānā, **384**, 385.
Islām, S̲h̲aikh, see Salīm, S̲h̲aik̲h̲.
Islīm, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, see Salīm, S̲h̲aik̲h̲.
Ismā'il, Maulānā, the 'Arab, 188.
Ismā'īl, Maulānā, of Ucch, 48, 157.
Ismā'īl I, S̲h̲āh, Safavī, 98, 148, 476 *n* 2.
Ismā'īl II, S̲h̲āh, Safavī, 190, 191, 287 *n* 7.
Ismā'īl, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, 44, 181.
'*Iṣmat-i-Anbiyā*, 114.
Iṣṭilāḥātu-'ṣ-Ṣūfiyyah, 11 *n* 4, 12 *n* 5, 14 *n* 1, 17 *n* 7, 44 *n* 4, 67 *n* 4, 75 *n* 9.
'Itābī, Sayyid Muḥammad, of Najaf, **380**, 381, 382, 383.
Iṭāwa, 333 *n* 1.

J.

Jabal-i-'Amilī, 191.
Ja'far, 145
Ja'far, *Aḥadī*, 495.
Ja'far, Sayyid, of Hirāt, **298**.
Ja'far Beg, Qazvīnī, Āṣaf K̲h̲ān II, **299, 300, 301**, 429 *n* 1.
Jahān S̲h̲āh, Mīrzā, 265.
Jahāngīr, Nūru-'d-dīn Muḥammad, the Emperor, 18 *n* 5, 137 *n* 4, 149, 150 *n* 2, 193 *n* 4, 198 *n* 3, 211 *n* 2, 232 *nn* 1, 3, 237 *nn* 2, 3, 4, 248 *n* 2, 263 *n* 4, 274, 299 *n* 3, 315 *n* 3, 327 *n* 2, 337 *n* 2, 367 *n* 3, 370, 408 *n* 4, 429 *n* 1, 444 *n* 3, 463 *n* 3, 480, 494 *n* 3, 498 *n* 1, 520 *n* 3, 535 *n* 2.
Jaipūr, 161 *n* 4, 278 *n* 3.
Jalā'ir clan, 454 *n* 1.
Jalāl, the Physician, 227.
Jalāl, Maulānā, of Tala, **157**.

Jalāl, Mīr Sayyid, of Badāon, 91, 121.

Jalāl, Sayyid, of Bukhārā, 472 *n* 2.

Jalāl-i-Wāṣil, Shaikh, of Kālpī, **196**.

Jalāl Khān Qurcī, 420.

Jalālia *Nālā*, 513 *n* 4.

Jalālu-'d-dīn-i-Qādirī, Mīr Sayyid, of Āgra, **135**, 136.

Jalālu-'d-dīn, Qāẓī, of Multān, **124**, 125.

Jalālu-'d-dīn Shaikh, of Qannauj, **93**, 94, 95.

Jalālu-'d-dīn, Shaikh, of Thānesar, **5**, 6.

Jalālu-'d-dīn Dawwānī, Maulānā, *Muḥaqqiq*, see Dawwānī.

Jalālu-'d-dīn Rūmī, Maulānā, 118, 151, 523 *n* 1.

Jalālu 'd-dīn Mīrān Shāh, 491 *n* 6.

Jalandar, 133.

Jālandar Dūāb, see Beth Jalandar Dūāb.

Jalaun, 196 *n* 3.

Jalīnūsu-'z-Zamān, see 'Alī, Ḥakīm.

Jām, 218 *n* 5.

Jām, Shaikh, 466, 522.

Jāmāl Khān, Afghān, 11 *n* 5.

Jamāl Khān, Miyāṅ, of Badāon, 397, 398, see Naṣīhī.

Jamāl Khān, Miyāṅ, Muftī of Dihlī, **123**, 124, 276.

Jamālu-'d dīn, Mīr, 114, 115.

Jamālu-'d-dīn, Shaikh, of Hānsī, 19 *n* 1.

Jamālu-'d-dīn, Muḥammad, Maulānā, 157.

Jāmī (the poet), 180, 181, 226, 227, 243, 271, 329, 444 *n* 1, 448, 497.

Jamīlī, of Kālpī, **296**, 297.

Jamna, the, 246, 274.

Jamshīd, 269, 349, 489 *n* 1.

Jān Qurbānī tribe, 263.

Jānī Beg, 337 *n* 2.

Jāt tribe, 80.

Jaunpūr, 10, 11 *n* 2, 66, 68 *n* 3, 76, 77, 83, 126 *n* 5, 135, 158, 239, 257, 270 *n* 1, 314 *n* 1, 406, 410.

Jauratī sect, 247.

Jausa, 161, 308.

Jawāhiru-'l-Qur'ān, 88.

Jazā'ir, al-, 341.

Jazbī, Pādshāh Qulī, **293**, 294, 295.

Jec Dūāb, 172 *n* 2.

Jerusalem, 422 *n* 2.

Jhālara, 207.

Jhanjhāna, 144.

Jī-jī Anaga, 308 *n* 2, 336 *n* 2, 388, *n* 1.

Jihlam, 172 *n* 2.

Jīl, 12 *n* 4.

Jodh Bāī, 18 *n* 5.

Jodhpūr, 18 *n* 5, 278 *n* 3.

Judā'ī, Mīr, 260 *n* 2, **291**, 292, 365 *n* 1.

Junābid, see Junābud.

Junābud, 304 *n* 1, 315.

Jūnagaṛh, 454 *n* 2.

Junaid-i-Baghdādī, Shaikh, 37.

K.

Ka'b *b*. Zuhair, 4 *n* 1, 119.

Ka'bah, the, 19 *n* 4, 22, 28 *n* 2, 82, 162, 168, 241, 266, 268, 269, 279, 347, 355, 356 *n* 2, 361, 38, 395, 417, 523 *n* 2.

Kabīr, Shaikh, **143**, 144.

Kabīr, Shaikh, son of Mīr Munawwar, **158**, 159.

Kābul, 65, 99, 137, 192, 213, 215, 237, 242, 244, 250, 257, 263 *n* 4, 343, 344 *n* 1, 354 *n* 4, 355, 362 *n* 1, 363, 367, *n* 3, 373, 376, 409, 436 *n* 1, 450 *n* 4, 468.

Kacch, 498 *n* 1.

Kāfiyyah, al-, 29, 287

Kāhī, Miyāṅ, see Qāsim-i-Kāhī.

Kākorī, 41.

Kākū, Shaikh, 85.

Kalān Beg, Khāja, 340.

Kālpī, 10, 296, 342.

Kālū, Shaikh, 56.

Kamāl, Shaikh, of Alwar, 21.

Kamāl Khān, Gakkhar, 344 *n* 1.

Kamāl-i-Biyābānī, Shaikh, 137.

Kamālā, the *Ṣadr*, 234.

Kamālu-'d-dīn Ḥusain, Miyāṅ, of Shīrāz, **184**, 185, 186, 188, 277, 278.

Kamālu-'d-dīn Sulaimān, 19 *n* 1.

Kambū tribe, 122, 123.

Kāmī, 239 *n* 1, see 'Alā'u-'d-Daulah, Mīr.

Kāmī, of Qum, **439**.

Kāmrān Mīrzā, 308 *n* 2, 340 *n* 3, 396 *n* 1, 451.

Kanauj, see Qannauj.

Kāngo, 127.

Kānt u Gola, 31 *n* 3, 56, 60, 103, 134 *n* 3, 397.

Kapūr-i-Majzūb, Shaikh, of Gwāliyār, **95**, 96.

Kara, 314 *n* 1.

Karbalā, 120 *n* 2, 473 *n* 1.

Karnāgaṛh, 173 *n* 1.

Karnāl, 174, 274.

Karorīs, 386.

Kāshān, 237 *n* 2, 283, 299 *n* 3, 302 *n* 1, 322.

Kāshghar, 344 *n* 1.

Kashmīr, 99, 100, 200, 203, 207, 209, 216, 265, 299 *n* 3, 344 *n* 1, 360, 367, 450, 474, 483, 491, 495, 513, 536.

Kāyasths, or Kāyats, 89.

Kerbelā, see Karbalā.

Khabushān, 227 *n* 2, 495.

Khāf, see Khavāf.

Khāfī Khān, Muḥammad Hāshim, 324 *n* 3.

Khairābād, 28, 45, 188 *n* 6.

Khāja, Mullā, 211.

Khāja-yi-Aḥrār, 65.

Khāja-yi-Jahān, Amīnu-'d-dīn Maḥmūd, of Hirāt, 181, 213 *n* 4, 334.

Khājagān Khāja, 65.

Khān Aḥmad Khān, 432 *n* 2.

Khān-i-'Ālam, see Hamdamī.

Khān-i-A'ẓam, see 'Azīz Kūka, Mīrzā.

Khān-i-Jahān, 166.

Khān-i-Kalān, see Muḥammad Khān.

Khān-i-Khānān, see Bairām Khān and 'Abdu-'r-Raḥīm Khān, Mīrzā.

Khān-i-Zamān, 'Alī Qulī Khān, 11 *n* 2, 125, 182, 210, 228 *n* 2, 239, 240, 264, 265, 314, 328, 329, 330, 334 *n* 4, 361, 385, 406 *n* 2.

Khāndesh, 229 *n* 5, 231, 263 *n* 4.

Khanjar Beg, **310**, 314, 315, 384.

Khārazm, 151, 214, 215 *n* 4, 401.

Khavāf, or Khāf, 324, 403.

Khizāna-yi-'Āmira, 495 *n* 3.

Khiẓr, 133, 338 *n* 3, 362, 382, 427, 481, 487.

Khiẓr Khān, 293 *n* 2.

Khiẓr Nahāvandī, Āghā, 302 *n* 1.

Khokhowāl, see Kokūwāl.

Khotwāl, 19 *n* 1.

K͟hurāsān, 110, 125, 302 *n* 1, 319 *n* 5, 336 *n* 4, 353 *n* 3, 387 *n* 5, 439 *n* 4, 440 *n* 3, 480.

K͟hurda, 340 *n* 4.

K͟hurram, Sulṭān, 337 *n* 2.

K͟husrav, 359, 423.

K͟husrav, Amīr, 233, 261, 357 *n* 2, 423 *n* 4, 443.

K͟husrav u S͟hīrīn, 411 *n* 1.

K͟husravī, **315**.

K͟hwurd, Mullā, 407 *n* 1.

Kibrawī order, 151.

Kīj, 323.

Kīmiyā'u-'s-Sa‘ādah, 7.

Kirmān, 242 *n* 1.

Kisā'ī, 191.

Kodī, river, 104.

Kokūwāl, 345, 350.

Kolāb, 270.

Kūcik Beg, 475, 476, 477.

Kūfa, 20 *n* 1.

Kulāhī, Afẓal K͟hān, **438**.

Kūmbhulmer, see Kūmbhalgaṛh.

Kūmbhalgaṛh, 420.

Kūrnis͟h, 193, 374 *n* 5.

L.

Lādan, Miyān S͟haik͟h, of Dihlī, 91, 123.

Lāhor, 47 *n* 4, 56, 60, 78, 85, 86, 89, 98, 120, 133, 134, 138, 144, 147, 153, 155, 158 *n* 3, 159 *n* 1, 166, 168, 171 *n* 1, 176, 191, 194, 199, 202, 215, 217, 231, 235, 253, 273, 287 *n* 7, 323, 361, 383, 384, 390, 392 *n* 1, 419, 438, 441, 472, 520, 526.

Lakhnau, 27, 31 *n* 3, 32, 34 *n* 4, 38, 41, 42, 43, 103, 104, 106, 108, 134, 190, 334 *n* 4.

Lailā, 244, 433.

Lailā u Majnūn, 411 *n* 1, 449, 498 *n* 1.

La‘lī, La‘l Beg, **441**.

Lane, E., *Modern Egyptians*, 15 *n* 2.

Langāh tribe, and dynasty, 89, 410.

Lāristān, 329 *n* 1.

Las͟hkar K͟hān, Khurāsānī, 336.

Lawā'iḥ, by Jāmī, 180, 444.

Līlavatī, 511 *n* 1.

Lisānu-'l-G͟haib, the, 303.

Liwā'ī, Pīrzāda, **440**, **441**.

Lonkaran, Rāja, 278.

Lubbu-'t-Tawārīk͟h, 463 *n* 3.

Lucknow, see Lakhnau.

Lūdhiāna, 144, 145.

Luṭfī, the Astrologer, **442**.

Luṭfu-'llāh, Ḥakīm, of Gīlān, 237.

M.

Ma‘āriju-'n-Nubūwah, 147.

Ma'āṣiri Raḥīmī, 262 *n* 1, 322 *n* 1, 439 *n* 1, 473 *n* 1, 495 *n* 3, 508 *n* 1, 512 *n* 1, 535 *n* 2.

Ma'āṣiru-'l-Umarā, 198 *n* 4, 254 *n* 2.

Māchīwāra, 254 *n* 2.

Madad-i-Ma‘ās͟h, 6 *n* 2, 75.

Ma‘danu-'l-Afkār, 498 *n* 1.

Madīnah, 19 *n* 4, 20, 127, 167, 168, 173, 214, 268, 355 *n* 3.

Mahābhārata, the, 173, 350, 422, *n* 1, 530 *n* 2.
Mahdavī sect, 10 *n* 3, 11, 53 *n* 1, 74, 77, 84, 110, 111, 118 *n* 2.
Mahdī, the Imām, 58 *n* 2, 74, 77, 84, 110, 111, 283 *n* 4.
Mahdī, Ḥājī, of Lāhor, 78, 157.
Mahdī Qāsim K̲h̲ān, 293 *n* 3.
Mahistī, of Hīrāt, 494.
Mahmands, 327 *n* 2.
Maḥmūd, of Basāk̲h̲wān, 283 *n* 1, 285, 287.
Maḥmūd, Mīr, the *Muns̲h̲ī*, see Maḥwī.
Maḥmūd, Sulṭān, of G̲h̲aznī, 46 *n* 6, 251.
Maḥmūd-i-Piyāru, Malīk, **197**, 198.
Maḥmūd-i-Surk̲h̲, Mullā, 213.
Maḥmūd, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, Ṭabrīzī.
Maḥmūd-i-Gīlānī, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, 70 *n* 7, 210 *n* 6, 211 *n* 1.
Maḥmūd Beg, 408 *n* 4.
Maḥmūd K̲h̲ān, 75, 77.
Maḥmūdiyyah sect, see Basāk̲h̲wānī sect.
Māhrū, Mīr Sayyid, 102.
Maḥwī, Mīr Maḥmūd, the *Muns̲h̲ī*, 391, **444**, 445, 446, 447.
Maḥwī, Mīr Mug̲h̲īs̤, **473**.
Mailī, Mīrzā Qulī, of Hirāt, **454**, 455, 456, 457, 458.
Maisāna, 498 *n* 1.
Mājī tribe, 345.
Majnūn, 244, 287, 433, 453.
Mak̲h̲dūmu-'l-Mulk, 'Abdu-'llah, Maulānā, of Sulṭānpūr, 52, 53, 54, 74, 81 *n* 1, 98, 109, **113**, 114, 115, 116, 127, 131, 133, 172.
Mak̲h̲zan-i-Asrār, 394, 417 *n* 1, 498 *n* 1.
Mak̲h̲zan-i-K̲h̲iyāl, 417.
Makkah, 14 *n* 2, 19 *n* 4, 20, 73, 77, 116, 127, 131, 137, 152, 164 *n* 4, 168, 173, 190, 191, 199, 214, 218, 226, 254 *n* 2, 260, 266 *n* 1, 267 *n* 1, 268, 293 *n* 2, 302, 334 *n* 4, 344 *n* 1, 347 *n* 5, 355 *n* 2, 377 *n* 2, 378, 389, 395 *n* 2, 436 *n* 1 443, 473, 508 *n* 1, 509 *n* 1.
Makrān, 323.
Malik *b.* Anās, 130 *n* 1.
Malik, of Qum, **458**, 459, 460, 461.
Mālikī sect, 130.
Maliku-'l-Kalām, see Qumī, Malik.
Maliku-'s̲h̲-S̲h̲u'arā, title, 240, 243, 411, 452 *n* 2.
Mālīn, see Bālīn.
Mālwa, 11 *n* 2, 158 *n* 3, 217, 249 *n* 2, 333 *n* 1, 407 *n* 1, 422 *n* 1, 450 *n* 2, 454, 510, 512 *n* 1.
Mamba'u-'n-Nafā'isi-'l-'Uyūn, 119.
Mān, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, of Pānīpat, 15, 17, 20.
Mangan, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, of Badāon, 493.
Mānī, 292.
Mānikpūr, 126, 314 *n* 1.
Manohar, see Tausanī.
Manṣūr, Mīr, 292 *n* 1.
Manṣūr-i-Ḥallāj, 37, 155.
Manẓarī, of Samarqand, **469**, 470.
Maqāmātu-'l-Ḥarīrī, 135, 478.
Maqṣūd, Mullā, of Qazvīn, **462** 463, 464, 465.
Maqṣūd 'Alī, K̲h̲āja, 327 *n* 2.
Maqṣūd 'Alī, Maliku-'l-Mulūk, 318 *n* 2.
Markazu-'l-Adwār, 411 *n.* 1, 417, 425 *n* 5.
Ma'rūf-i-Cis̲h̲tī, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, 27.
Mārūt, 488 *n* 1.
Marv, 248, 452.
Marvī, see Ḥusain, K̲h̲āja.
Mas̲h̲āriqu-'l-Anwār, 176, 189.

Mas͟hhad, 227 *n* 2, 239, 251 *n* 1, 254, 267, 287, 335 *n* 5, 341, 378, 443, 447, 454 *n* 1, 465, 473 *n* 1, 495 *n* 3.

Masīḥu-'d-dīn, see Abū-'l-Fatḥ, Ḥakīm.

Masīḥu-'l-Mulk, Ḥakīm, 230.

Mas‘ūd, Sālār, 46.

Ma‘ṣūm-i-Kābulī, 126, 270.

Mathura, 128.

Maujī, Qāsim K͟hān, of Badak͟hs͟hān, **448**, 450.

Mauṣil, 192.

Mauzūn, 467.

Mawāridu-'l-Kilam, 411 n 1.

Maẓharī, of Kas͟hmīr, 474.

Mewāt, 163, 310 *n* 3.

Miftāḥu-'l-‘Ulūm, 70, 109, 124.

Miḥnatī, of Ḥiṣār, **465**.

Mihr ‘Alī Sildūz, 11, 12.

Mīr Bak͟hs͟hī, see Āṣaf K͟hān II.

Mīr-i-Kalān, Maulānā, **211**, 212.

Mīrak S͟hāh, Sayyid, 115, 212.

Mir'ātu 'l-‘Ālam, 239 *n* 2, 240 *n* 3, 254 *n* 2, 408 *n* 4, 422 *n* 1, 508 *n* 1, 535 *n* 2.

Mir'ātu-'l-Kā'ināt, 239 *n* 2.

Mirṣādu-'l-‘Ibād, 528.

Mīrzā, Maulānā, of Samarqand, **209**, 210.

Miṣbāḥ, 151.

Mis͟hkātu 'l-Maṣābīḥ, 215, 268.

Miyānwālī, 124 *n* 3.

Mohān, 190.

Montgomery District, 50 *n* 2.

Moses, 486 *n* 1.

Mu‘āwiyah, 120 *n* 2.

Mu‘aẓẓam, K͟hāja, 224 *n* 3, 246, 466, 467.

Mubārak, Qāẓī, of Gopāmau, 28, 30, 31, **188**, 189.

Mubārak, S͟haik͟h, of Alwar, **162**, 163.

Mubārak, S͟haik͟h, of Nāgor, 75, 110, 113 *n* 2, **118**, 119, 120, 130, 131, 393, *n* 1, 411 *n* 1.

Mubārak K͟hān, Afg͟hān, 267 *n* 1.

Mudāmī, of Badak͟hs͟hān, **461**, 462.

Mudāmī, of Hamadān, **471**.

Muflis, Mīrzā, the Uzbak, **218**.

Mufradāt-i-Ma‘ṣūmī, 498 *n* 1.

Mughbaca, see Imāmī, Mīr.

Muḥammad, the Prophet, 1 *n* 5, 4 *nn* 1, 3, 20, 25 *nn* 1, 3, 32 *n* 3, 39, 40 *n* 3, 63 *n* 1, 67, 69 *n* 5, 78 *n* 4, 88 *n* 6, 90, 116, 127, 132, 153, 164 *n* 4, 170, 195 *n* 1, 203, 212, 283 *n* 4, 413, 414, 422 *n* 2, 438, 464, 516 *n* 1, 528, 532, 537.

Muḥammad, Amīr Sayyid, 209.

Muḥammad, Maulānā, the Muftī, **215**.

Muḥammad, Mīr Sayyid, the Weaver, see Fikrī.

Muḥammad, Mīr Sayyid, of Amroha, **120**, 121.

Muḥammad, Mīr Sayyid, of Jaunpūr, 10, 74, 76, 77, 83, 110, 111.

Muḥammad, S͟haik͟h (brother of Badāonī), 31, 34, 40.

Muḥammad, S͟haik͟h (father of S͟haik͟h Sa‘dī), 42.

Muḥammad, S͟haik͟h, of Bahroc, 134.

Muḥammad, S͟haik͟h, of Dihlī, **474**, 475.

Muḥammad, S͟haik͟h, of Syria, **191**, 192.

Muḥammad, al-Ahjī, 84.

Muḥammad K͟hān, Mīr, K͟hān-i-Kalān, 396, 450 *n* 2, 471, 494.

Muḥammad Aṣg͟har, see As͟hraf K͟hān.

Muḥammad-i-Nūr Bakhshī, Mīr Sayyid, 84.
Muḥammad Ghauṣ, Shaikh, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 43, 141, 160, 177, 196, 296.
Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Mīrzā, 137, 250, 275, 314 *n* 1, 337 *n* 2, 344 *n* 1, 354 *n* 4, 355, 409.
Muḥammad Ḥasan, Shaikh, 15.
Muḥammad Hāshim Khān, see Khāfī Khān.
Muḥammad Ḥusain, Shaikh, of Sikandara, **105**, 108.
Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān, see Ḥusain Khān.
Muḥammad Ja'far, 144, 145
Muḥammad-i-Kambū, Shaikh, of Sambhal, **12**, 13.
Muḥammad-i-Khabūshānī, 227.
Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm, Mīr, Ṣafavī, see Nāmī.
Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm Khān, Farankhūdī, 126 *n* 5.
Muḥammad Mīrzā, Sulṭān, 491 *n* 6.
Muḥammad Qalandar, Shaikh, of Lukhnau, **43**.
Muḥammad Qāsim, Kūhbar, 344 *n* 1.
Muḥammad Qāsim Khān, of Nīshāpūr, 302 *n* 2.
Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās, 228 *n* 1, 337 *n* 2.
Muḥammad Qulī Khān, Turkmān, 367 *n* 3.
Muḥammad Riẓā, Mullā, see Nau'ī.
Muḥammad Sharīf, 193.
Muḥammad Sharīf, of Nīshāpūr, see Vuqū'ī.
Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā, 6 *n* 4.
Muḥammad Yaḥya, Khāja, **150**, 151.
Muḥammad Yazdī, Mullā, 126 *n* 5, 127, 233 *n* 2.
Muḥammad Yūsuf, **468**, 469.
Muḥaqqiq-i-Dawwānī, see Dawwānī.
Muḥiyy, Sayyid, 189.
Muḥiyyu-'d-dīn, 'Abdu-'l-Qādir-i-Jīlī, 12 *n* 4, 135.
Muḥiyyu-'d-dīn Muḥammad, Shaikh, 203.
Muḥsin Riẓavī, Mīr, of Mashhad, 443, **447**, 448.
Muḥtaram Beg, 450.
Muḥtasham, 474 *n* 1.
Mu'īn, Shaikh, 147, 194.
Mu'īnu-'d-dīn-i-Sanjarī-yi-Cishtī, Khāja, 18 *n* 5, 136, 139 *n* 1, 150 *n* 2, 197, 207 *n* 1, 252, 444 *n* 3.
Mu'īnu-'d-dīn-i-Farankhūdī, Khāja, 218.
Mu'izzī, Sayyid, of Hirāt, **451**.
Mu'izzu-'l-Mulk, Mīr, 126 *n* 5, 127, 228.
Mullā Ghanī, see Amanī.
Multān, 3 *n* 4, 47, 48 *nn* 6, 7, 50 *n* 2, 52, 89, 93, 124 *n* 3, 141, 143, 173.
Munavvar, Shaikh, 86.
Mun'im Khān, 254 *n* 2, 314 *n* 1 337 *n* 2.
Munkir, 533 *n* 2.
Muntakhabu-'l-Lubāb, 324 *n* 3.
Muntakhabu-'t-Tawārīkh (references to Volumes I and II), 3 *nn*, 6 *n* 2, 9, 30 *n* 2, 31 *n* 3, 58 *n* 2, 63 *n* 4, 68 *n* 3, 70 *n* 8, 74 *n* 3, 75 *n* 1, 110 *n* 4, 113 *n* 2, 118 *n* 2, 119 *n* 1, 126 *nn* 2, 5, 127 *nn* 4, 5, 129 *n* 1, 131 *nn* 1, 3, 4, 136 *n* 2, 137 *nn* 3, 4, 141 *n* 3, 143 *n* 2, 158 *nn* 1, 2, 161 *n* 3, 164 *nn* 1, 2, 4, 166 *n* 3, 168 *n* 2, 172 *nn*,

173 *n* 5, 191 *n* 3, 198 *n* 1, 207 *n* 1, 209 *n* 2, 210 *nn* 1, 2, 211 *n* 2, 212 *n* 1, 213 *nn* 1, 3, 4, 215 *nn* 2, 3, 216 *nn* 1, 3, 217 *n* 5, 218 *nn* 1, 2, 219 *nn* 1, 2, 223, 224 *n* 3, 225 *n* 1, 226 *n* 3, 228 *n* 2, 229 *nn* 1, 3, 231 *n* 3, 233 *nn* 1, 2, 234 *n* 5, 235 *nn* 1, 3, 236 *n* 3, 242 *n* 3, 248 *n* 2, 265 *n* 4, 266 *n* 2, 267 *n* 1, 268 *n* 1, 269 *n* 1, 270 *n* 3, 280 *nn* 1, 3, 283 *n* 4, 287 *n* 5, 295 *n* 1, 308 *n* 3, 317 *n* 3, 326 *n* 2, 344 *n* 1, 345 *n* 2, 350 *n* 4, 351 *n* 1, 360 *n* 2, 363 *n* 2, 367 *nn* 2, 3, 370 *n* 2, 372 *n* 3, 374 *n* 1, 386 *n* 5, 389 *n* 2, 396 *n* 1, 398 *n* 2, 406 *n* 2, 411 *n* 1, 414 *n* 1; 436 *n* 2, 438 *n* 3, 442 *n* 3, 443 *n* 2, 450 *n* 3, 466 *nn* 2, 3, 467 *n* 5, 468 *n* 2, 470 *n* 1, 474 *n* 1, 508 *n* 1, 512 *n* 2, 513 *n* 1, 524 *nn* 1, 2, 530 *n* 2, 535 *n* 2.

Muqīm, Mīr, 438.

Muqīmī, of Sabzavār, **471**, 472.

Muqtadir. the *K͟halīfah*, 37 *n* 7.

Murād, Sulṭān, 230, 248 *n* 2, 388 *n* 1, 441.

Murādābād, 3 *n* 1, 120 *n* 4.

Murādī, of Astarābād, **451**, 452.

Murtaẓā-yi-S͟harīf, Mīr, of S͟hīrāz, 268, **442**, 443, 444.

Mūsā, S͟haik͟h, 137 *n* 4, 171.

Mūsā, S͟haik͟h, Qādirī, 141, 142, 143.

Mūsawī, of Mas͟hhad, **465**.

Mūsawī Sayyids, 465 *n* 4.

Mus͟hfiqī, of Buk͟hārā, **452**, 453.

Muṣṭafā, Miyāṅ, of Gujarāt.

Muṭawwal, 109, 374.

Muẓaffar, Ḥakīm, of Ardastān **237**.

Muẓaffar III of Gujarāt, 498 *n* 1.

Muẓaffar K͟hān, 433.

Muẓaffar Ḥusain, Mīrzā, Ṣafavī, 476 *n* 2.

N.

Nādiru-'l-Mulk, 292 *n*. 1, see Judā'ī

Nafā'isu 'l-Ma'āṣir, see Taẕkirah.

Nag͟hmāt-i Dā'ūdī, 50.

Najaf, 20, 239, 380, 473 *n* 1, 503.

Najār, 496.

Najātī, of Gīlān, **495**.

Najātu-'r-Ras͟hīd, 54, 210.

Najmu-'d-dīn 'Abdu-'l-G͟haffār, Imām, 259.

Najmu-'d dīn 'Abdu-'llāh, 230.

Najmu-'d-din Muḥammad, Sayyid, 242 *n* 3, see Qāsim-i-Kāhī.

Nakīr, 156, 533 *n* 2.

Nal u Daman, 411 *n* 1. 422, 424 *n* 1, 425 *n* 2.

Nala, 422 *n* 1.

Nāma-yi-K͟hirad-afzā, 224, 249 *n* 2.

Nāmī, Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm, Mīr, Ṣafavī, **498**, 499, 500, 501.

Naqd-i-Fuṣūṣ, 163.

Naqīb K͟hān, see G͟hiyāṣu-'d-dīn 'Alī.

Naqs͟hband, K͟hāja Bahā'u-'d-dīn, 37.

Naqs͟hbandī order, 119.

Naqs͟hī, Ḥusain, Maulānā, 480.

Narbada, 218.

Nārnol, 44, 45.

Naṣīḥī, Jamāl K͟hān, Miyāṅ, of Badāon, **493**, 494.

Nāṣiru-'d-dīn, Shaikh, 123, **161**, 162.

Nāṣiru-'d-dīn 'Ubaidu-'llāh Aḥrār, see Aḥrār, Khāja.

Nāṣiru-'l-Mulk, see Pīr Muḥammad Khān, Mullā.

Naskh-i-Jahānārā, 259.

Naubat, 426 *n* 3.

Nau'ī, Muḥammad Riẓā, Mullā, **495**, 496.

Naurang Khān, 454.

Navā'ī, Muḥammad Sharīf, Mīr, 271, 510.

Naẓīrī, Muḥammad Ḥusain, Maulānā, of Nīshāpūr, 392 *n* 1, **508**, 509.

Naẓmī, of Ṭabrīz, **511**, 512.

Nigāristān, 259.

Nihānī, **494**, 495.

Nineveh, 192 *n* 1.

Nishada, 422 *n* 1.

Nishānī, 'Alī Aḥmad, Maulānā, **480**, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493.

Nīshāpūr, 7 *n* 1, 220, 302 *n* 1, 319, 324 *n* 1, 338 *n* 3, 473 *n* 1, 508, 510, 512.

Nīshāpūrī Commentary, the, 194, 195.

Niyābat Khān, 126 *n* 5.

Niyāzī tribe, 73.

Niyāzī, Mullā, **496**, 497, 498.

Niẓām, Qāẓī, of Badakhshān, **214**, 374, 375, 409 *n* 2, 410.

Niẓām Shāhī Kings, 438 *n* 4.

Niẓāmī, of Ganja, the Poet, 394 *n* 2, 411 *n* 1, 423 *n* 4, 498 *n* 1, 500, 509.

Niẓāmu-'d-dīn, Shaikh, of Ambeṭhī, **27**, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 132, 182, 188, 189.

Niẓāmu-'d-dīn, Shaikh, of Nārnol, **44**, 45.

Niẓāmu-'d-dīn Aḥmad, Mīrzā (or Khāja), 1, 138, 144, 145, 146, 152, 167, 168, 170, 187, 192, 193, 199, 262, 273, 306, 307, 317, 361, 374, 375, 390, 416, 436 *n* 1, 498 *n* 1, 508 *n* 1, 518.

Niẓāmu-'d-dīn Auliyā, Shaikh, 16, 363.

Niẓāmu-'l-Mulk, of Ṭūs, 358 *n* 2.

Nizārī sect, 413.

Nuqtawiyyah sect, see Basākhwānī sect.

Nūr Jahān, wife of Jahāngīr, 494 *n* 3.

Nūr, Shaikh, Quṭb-i-'Ālam, 27.

Nūru-'d-dīn, Ḥakīm, 233 *n* 1.

Nūru-'d-dīn Muḥammad Tarkhān, Mullā, 217, **218**, 219, **273**, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278.

Nūru-'llāh, Qāẓī, of Shushtar, **193**, 194, 195.

Nūru-'llāh Qāsim Arsalān, see Qāsim Arsalān.

Nuvīdī, Mullā, **495**.

Nuvīdī, of Turbat, **475**, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480.

O.

Ohod, see Uḥud.

Orissa, see Urīsa.

Oudh, 34 *n* 4, 45 *n* 5, 46 *n* 6 101, 188 *n* 6, 214.

P.

Pādshāh-nāma, 45 *n* 5, 237 *n* 4.
Pādshāh Qulī, see Jazbī, Pādshāh Qulī.
Pairavī, **271**, 272.
Pāk Pattan, see Ajūdhan.
Pānīpat, 43 *n* 4.
Panjāb, 56, 64, 81, 83 *n* 7, 98, 114, 124 *n* 3, 154, 159 *n* 1, 163 *n* 2, 172, 173 *n* 1, 174 *n* 1, 263 *n* 4, 275, 293 *n* 2, 310 *n* 3, 396 *n* 1, 397 *n* 4, 401 *n* 3, 444 *n* 3, 463 *n* 1, 513 *n* 4.
Parījān Khānum, 191.
Parī-Ṣūrat, 498 *n* 1.
Parvīz, Sulṭān, 299 *n* 3, 327 *n* 2.
Patan (or Pattan), in Gujarāt, 62 267, 396 *n* 1.
Patiālā, 173 *n* 1, 465 *n* 2.
Patiyālī, 66.
Patna, 66, 84, 295, 410.
Peshāwar, 268, 327 *n* 2, 483 *n* 2.
Pīca Jan Anaga, 327 *n* 2.
Pihānī, 198.
Pīr, Shaikh, of Āgra, 467.
Pīr Muḥammad Khān, Mullā, of Shīrvān, **217**, 218.
Pīr Muḥammad Mīrzā, 307 *n* 2.
Pīrak, Shaikh, of Lakhnau, **104**, 105.
Piyāra, Shaikh, of Bangāl, 21.
Piyārū, Malik, 197.

Q.

Qādirī order, 12, 52, 61, 82, 135, 156, 157.
Qadrī, **437**.
Qāf, 2.
Qahqaha, 190.
Qaidī, Mullā, of Shīrāz, **436**.
Qāimganj, 145 *n* 2.
Qāīn, 315 *n* 1.
Qandahār, 78, 218, 253, 261, 327, 340 *n* 3, 359, 498 *n* 1, 499.
Qandī, **437**.
Qannauj, 66 *n* 5, 93, 106, 145 *n* 2, 198, 308 *n* 3, 314 *n* 1.
Qānūn, the, 237.
Qānūn-i-Islām, 3 *n* 5, 4 *n* 3, 7 *n* 3, 51 *n* 7.
Qarārī, Nūru 'd-dīn, Ḥakīm, of Gīlān, **432**, 433.
Qārūn, 234.
Qaṣīda-yi-Fāriẓiyya, 119.
Qaṣīdatu 'l-Burda, 4, 33, 119, 150.
Qāsim, 362.
Qāsim, Mīrzā, 315.
Qāsim-i-Arsalān, 149, 240, **251**, 252, 253, 336, 365 *n* 1.
Qāsim-i-Kāhī, 240, **242**, 243, 247, 271, 276, 304 *n* 1.
Qāsim Khān, Mīr-i-Baḥr, 450.
Qāsim Khān Kāsū, 450 *n* 2.
Qāsim Khān, of Badakhshān, see Maujī.
Qāsim 'Alī, see Ghubārī.
Qāsim 'Alī Khān, corn-chandler, 296.
Qāẓī Khān, see Niẓām, Qāẓī.
Qāẓī Muḥammad, 390.
Qilīj Khān, Ulfatī, 9, 100, 173, 178, 237, **263**, 264, 319, 343, 383.
Qīṭūn, 135.
Qivāmu-'d dīn, Mīrzā, 299 *n* 3.
Qudsī, Mīr, of Karbalā, 510.
Qum, 260, 458.

Qumī, Malik, Maliku-'l-Kalām, 273, 372.

Quraish tribe, 133 *n* 1, 398, 528.

Quṭb S̲h̲āhī Kings, 438 *n* 4.

Quṭb-i-'Ālam, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, 164.

Quṭbu-'d-dīn Bak̲h̲tyār-i-Kākī, K̲h̲āja, see Bak̲h̲tyār.

Quṭbu-'dīn, Mīrān Sayyid, 204.

Quṭbu-'d-dīn K̲h̲ān, 454 *n* 2.

Quṭbu-'d-dīn 'Alī, 247 *n* 5.

Qutlū, 450 *n* 2.

R.

Rabī'ī, 376, see 'Ālim, Mullā, of Kābul.

Rafī'ī, Mīr Ḥaidar, of Ḳās̲h̲ān, **322**, 323, 324.

Rafī'u-'d-dīn, Mīr Sayyid, 121, 162, 187.

Rahā'ī, Maulānā Ṣadru'd-dīn, of K̲h̲avāf, **324**.

Raḥmān Qulī Sulṭān, 384.

Raḥmatu-'llāh, Miyāṅ, 48, 51, 168.

Rai, 7 *n* 1, 255 *n* 1, 405 *n* 1.

Rāja 'Alī K̲h̲ān, of K̲h̲āndes̲h̲, 229.

Rājputāna, 278 *n* 3, 420 *n* 1.

Rām Candra, Rāja of Khurda, 340 *n* 4.

Ranthambhor, 162.

Rāqimī, Maulānā, 518.

Ras̲h̲ḥātu-'l Ḥayāt, 239 *n* 2.

Ras̲h̲īd, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, 151.

Ras̲h̲t, 304 *n* 3.

Raug̲h̲anī, **325**, 326, 327.

Raushaniyyah sect, 37 *n* 4.

Rauẓatu-'l-Aḥbāb, 114.

Raverty, The Mihrān of Sind and its Tributaries, 48 *n* 7, 50 *n* 2.

Rāvī, the, 202.

Razmnāma, 173.

Rewārī, 163 *n* 2, 483 *n* 1.

Risāla-yi-Makkiyya, 29.

Riyāẓu 'sh-Shu'arā, 498 *n* 1.

Riẓā, 'Alī Mūsā, Imām, 280, 335, 465 *n* 4.

Ruhtās (Bangāl), 178 *n* 1, 263 *n* 4.

Ruknu-'d-dīn, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, of Ajūdhan, 21.

Ruknu-'d-dīn, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, of Gangū, 82, 83.

Ruknu-'d-dīn, 'Alā'u-'d-dīn, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, 248.

Rūm, 302 *n* 1.

Rusvā'ī, 308.

S.

Ṣabāḥi sect, 513.

Ṣabūḥī, 246, **356**, 358.

Ṣabūrī, of Hamadān, **361**.

Sabzavār, 117, 118, 254 *n* 2, 439 *n* 4, 471.

Sa'd, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, 28.

Sadās̲h̲ivarāya, Rāja of Vijayanagar, 330 *n* 1.

Sa'dī, of S̲h̲īrāz, the Poet, 144, 245, 397, 472, 523 *n* 1.

Sa'dī, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, **42**.

Ṣādiq Ḥalwā'ī, Mullā, of Samarqand, **354**, 355.

Ṣādiq, Maulānā, 261, 363.

Ṣādiqī, **359**.

Ṣadr-i-Jahān, title, see *Ṣadru-'ṣ-* [*Ṣudūr.*

Ṣadr-i-Jahān, of Pihānī, **198**, 199, 200.

Ṣadru-’d-dīn, Qāẓī, **133**, 134.

Ṣadru-’s-Ṣudūr (or *Ṣadr-i-Jahān*), title, 8 *n* 5, 110, 122, 127, 138, 139, 198 *n* 3, 199, 378 *nn* 1, 2, 386 *n* 4, 497.

Sa‘du-’llāh, Shaikh, Banī Isrā’īl, 86, **87**, 88, 158.

Sa‘du-’llāh, Shaikh, the Grammarian, 160, 161.

Ṣafā’ī, Mīr Sayyid, 498.

Ṣafī, Shaikh, 45, 91.

Safīdūn, 218 *n* 5, 273.

Ṣaḥā’if fi-’l-Kalām, 92.

Sahāranpūr, 61, 83 *n* 1.

Ṣaḥīḥ-i Bukhārī, 215.

Sahmī, **336**, 337, 365 *n* 1.

Sahrawardī, Shaikh Abū-’n-Najīb ‘Abdu-’l-Qādir *b.* ‘Abdi-’llāh, 26, 29 *n* 4.

Sahrawardiyyah order, 82 *n* 4.

Sahsarām, 178.

Sahwu-’l-Lisān, 302.

Ṣā‘ib, the Poet, 392 *n* 1.

Sa‘īd, Maulānā, **212**, 213.

Sa‘īd, Shaikh, see Sa‘īd, Maulānā.

Saifī, 243.

Saifī Sayyids, 148, 386, 444 *n* 3.

Saifu-’llāh, 75, 367 *n* 3.

Saifu-’l-Mulūk, Shujā‘ī, of Damāvand, **226**, 227, 228, **352**, 353.

Sairī, **334**.

Ṣalāḥu-’d-dīn, see Ṣarfī, of Sāwa.

Ṣāliḥ, the Madman, ‘Āqil, **362**, 363.

Ṣāliḥ, Mullā, 370.

Ṣāliḥī, Muḥammad Mīrak, **358**.

Salīm, Prince, see Jahāngīr.

Salīm-i-Cishtī, Shaikh, **18**, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 73, 137 *n* 4, 162, 171 *n* 1, 197, 225, 274 *n* 2, 297, 343.

Salīm Shāh Sūr, 53, 62, 74, 75.

Salmā, 347.

Salmān, of Sāwa, 453, 463.

Salsabīl, 182.

Samā, 9 *n* 1.

Samā‘ī, 525.

Sāmāna, 91, 173, 174, 218 *n* 5.

Samnān, 248.

Samarqand, 65, 209, 210, 354, 405, 496 *n* 2.

Sambhal, 3, 4, 12, 21, 63 *n* 6, 69, 96, 97, 103, 120, 121, 188, 263 *n* 4, 329 *n* 1, 387, 396 *n* 1, 397, 398.

Sāmbhar, 278.

Sāmirī, 486, 488, 490.

Ṣanā’ī, of Mashhad, **287**, 288, 291, 295, 390, 393.

Ṣānī Khān, ‘Alī Akbar, of Hirāt, **286**, 287.

Sanjar, Sulṭān, 307.

Saplak, 327.

Sāqī, of the Jazā’ir, **341**, 342.

Sāqī-nāma, 495 *n* 3.

Saqqā, Bahrām, **338**, 339.

Sarā’ī Sidhū, 3 *n* 4.

Sarandīb, 339.

Sārangpūr, 407 *n* 1.

Sarhind, see Sirhind.

Sarmadī, Sharīf, of Iṣfahān, 319, **340**, 341, 513 *n* 1.

Ṣarfī, Shaikh Ya‘qūb, of Kashmīr, **360**.

Ṣarfī, Ṣalāḥu-’d-dīn, of Sāwa, **361**.

Sarkhej, 240, 241.

Satgarah, 48, 52.

Satkara, see Satgarah.

Sāwa, 271 *n* 6, 361, 365, 453 *n* 1.

Sawād, 233 *n* 1, 299 *n* 3.

Sawāṭi ‘u-’l-Ilhām, 157, 194, 297 *n* 2, 322 *n* 2, 323, 411 *n* 1, 414 *n* 2.

Sayyāfī, **335**.

Sayyidī, Sayyid Shāh, **342**, 343.

Shaddād, 234.
Shafī'u-'d-dīn Muḥammad, 228.
Shafī'ī, Imām, 115, 259 *n* 3.
Shāhābād, 178 *n* 1.
Shāham Beg, 314 *n* 1, 331 *n* 1, 333 *n* 3.
Shāhbāz Khān Kambū.
Shāh-i-'Ālam, of Bukhārā, 197.
Shāh Jahān, 45 *n* 5, 408 *n* 4, 520 *n* 3.
Shāhjahānpūr, 56 *n* 4.
Shāh Mīr, Amīr, 512 *n* 1.
Shāh Mīr, Sayyid, 162, 174, 175, 176.
Shāh Muḥammad Unsī, Maulānā, 524, 536 *n* 3.
Shāhnāma, 469 *n* 3.
Shāh Qulī, Kurd, 293, 294.
Shāh Qulī, Sulṭān, of Badakhshān, 441.
Shāhrukh, Mīrzā, 65, 450 *n* 4.
Shaikhu-'l-Hidyah, 28, 29, 45, 46, 47.
Shakhṣ-i-Wāḥid, 283 *n* 4.
Shakībī, of Iṣfahān, 351, 508 *n* 1.
Shamā'ilu-'l-Muḥammadiyyah, see *Shamā'ilu-'n-Nabī*.
Shamā'ilu-'n-Nabī, 268.
Shāmlū Turkmāns, 262.
Shamsābād, 145.
Shamsu-'d-dīn, see Ḥakīmu 'l-Mulk.
Shamsu-'d-dīn, Khāja, of Khavāf, 231.
Shamsu-'d dīn, Qāẓī, Qazoīnī, 295.
Shamsud-'d-dīn, Shaikh Ṭabrīzī, 84 *n* 3.
Shamsu-'d dīn Muḥammad, see Ataga Khān.
Sharafu-'d-dīn, Abū 'Abdi-'llāh *b.* Sa'īd, 4 *n* 1.
Sharafu-'d-dīn Ḥasan, 230.
Sharḥ-i-'Aqā'id, 217.
Sharḥ-i-Shamsiyyah, 209, 370.
Sharḥ-i-Vikāya, 132, 211.
Sharḥu-'l-Mukammal, 49 *n* 1.
Sharḥu shamā'ili-'n-Nabī, 114.
Sharīf Āmalī, 340, 513 *n* 1.
Sharīf-i-Amānī, Mīr, of Iṣfahān, 258, 259.
Sharīf of Ṭabrīz, 303.
Sharīfī, see Murtaẓā, Mīr.
Shāṭibī, the, 119.
Shāṭibī, Abū Muḥammadi-'l Qāsimī, 41 *n* 5, 42.
Shaṭṭārī order, 7.
Sher Khān, 314 *n* 1.
Sher Shāh, see Shīr Shāh.
Shiblī, Abū Bakr, Shaikh, 37.
Shihāb Khān, 498 *n* 1.
Shihābu-'d-dīn, Qāẓī, 135.
Shihābu-'d-dīn, Shaikh, Sahravardī, 225.
Shihābu-'d-dīn Aḥmad Khān, 512.
Shīmāl Khān, 420 *n* 2.
Shīr Shāh Sūr, Farīdu-'d-dīn, 89 *n* 2, 161 *nn* 2, 5, 178 *n* 1, 467 *n* 5.
Shīrāz, 184, 196, 216, 229, 230, 277, 390, 392, 403, 436, 442, 443, 523.
Shīrgaṛh, 50, 52, 56, 60, 61, 62
Shīrī, 345, 346, 347, 350, 351.
Shīrīn, 348, 359 *n* 1.
Shīrvān, 217, 218.
Shujā'ī, see Saifu-'l-Mulūk.
Shu'ūrī, 353, 354.
Shūshtar, 285.
Sidhaulī, 10 *n* 2.
Sijdah, 193, 374.
Sijistān, 76 *n* 2.
Sikandar Lodī, Sulṭān, 103.
Sikandar Sūr, 470.
Sikandara, 105, 108.
Sikandar nāma, 411 *n* 1, 498 *n* 1.
Sīkrī, see Fatḥpūr.

Ṣadr-i-Jahān, of Pihānī, **198**, 199, 200.
Ṣadru-’d-dīn, Qāẓī, **133**, 134.
Ṣadru-’s-Ṣudūr (or *Ṣadr-i-Jahān*), title, 8 *n* 5, 110, 122, 127, 138, 139, 198 *n* 3, 199, 378 *nn* 1, 2, 386 *n* 4, 497.
Sa‘du-’llāh, Shaikh, Banī Isrā’īl, 86, **87**, 88, 158.
Sa‘du-’llāh, Shaikh, the Grammarian, 160, 161.
Ṣafā’ī, Mīr Sayyid, 498.
Ṣafī, Shaikh, 45, 91.
Safīdūn, 218 *n* 5, 273.
Ṣaḥā’if fi-’l-Kalām, 92.
Sahāranpūr, 61, 83 *n* 1.
Ṣaḥīḥ-i Bukhārī, 215.
Sahmī, **336**, 337, 365 *n* 1.
Sahrawardī, Shaikh Abū-’n-Najīb ‘Abdu-’l-Qādir *b.* ‘Abdi-’llāh, 26, 29 *n* 4.
Sahrawardiyyah order, 82 *n* 4.
Sahsarām, 178.
Sahwu-’l-Lisān, 302.
Ṣā‘ib, the Poet, 392 *n* 1.
Sa‘īd, Maulānā, **212**, 213.
Sa‘īd, Shaikh, see Sa‘īd, Maulānā.
Saifī, 243.
Saifī Sayyids, 148, 386, 444 *n* 3.
Saifu-’llāh, 75, 367 *n* 3.
Saifu-’l-Mulūk, Shujā‘ī, of Damāvand, **226**, 227, 228, **352**, 353.
Sairī, **334**.
Ṣalāḥu-’d-dīn, see Ṣarfī, of Sāwa.
Ṣāliḥ, the Madman, ‘Āqil, **362**, 363.
Ṣāliḥ, Mullā, 370.
Ṣāliḥī, Muḥammad Mīrak, **358**.
Salīm, Prince, see Jahāngīr.
Salīm-i-Cishti, Shaikh, **18**, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 73, 137 *n* 4, 162, 171 *n* 1, 197, 225, 274 *n* 2, 297, 343.
Salīm Shāh Sūr, 53, 62, 74, 75.
Salmā, 347.
Salmān, of Sāwa, 453, 463.
Salsabīl, 182.
Samā, 9 *n* 1.
Samā‘ī, 525.
Sāmāna, 91, 173, 174, 218 *n* 5.
Samnān, 248.
Samarqand, 65, 209, 210, 354, 405, 496 *n* 2.
Sambhal, 3, 4, 12, 21, 63 *n* 6, 69, 96, 97, 103, 120, 121, 188, 263 *n* 4, 329 *n* 1, 387, 396 *n* 1, 397, 398.
Sāmbhar, 278.
Sāmirī, 486, 488, 490.
Ṣanā’ī, of Mashhad, **287**, 288, 291, 295, 390, 393.
Ṣānī Khān, ‘Alī Akbar, of Hirāt, **286**, 287.
Sanjar, Sulṭān, 307.
Saplak, 327.
Sāqī, of the Jazā’ir, **341**, 342.
Sāqī-nāma, 495 *n* 3.
Saqqā, Bahrām, **338**, 339.
Sarā’ī Sidhū, 3 *n* 4.
Sarandīb, 339.
Sārangpūr, 407 *n* 1.
Sarhind, see Sirhind.
Sarmadī, Sharīf, of Iṣfahān, 319, **340**, 341, 513 *n* 1.
Ṣarfī, Shaikh Ya‘qūb, of Kashmīr, **360**.
Ṣarfī, Ṣalāḥu-’d-dīn, of Sāwa, **361**.
Sarkhej, 240, 241.
Satgarah, 48, 52.
Satkara, see Satgarah.
Sāwa, 271 *n* 6, 361, 365, 453 *n* 1.
Sawād, 233 *n* 1, 299 *n* 3.
Sawāṭi ‘u-’l-Ilhām, 157, 194, 297 *n* 2, 322 *n* 2, 323, 411 *n* 1, 414 *n* 2.
Sayyāfī, **335**.
Sayyidī, Sayyid Shāh, **342**, 343.

Shaddād, 234.

Shafī‘u-’d-dīn Muḥammad, 228.

Shafī‘ī, Imām, 115, 259 *n* 3.

Shāhābād, 178 *n* 1.

Shāham Beg, 314 *n* 1, 331 *n* 1, 333 *n* 3.

Shāhbāz Khān Kambū.

Shāh-i-‘Ālam, of Bukhārā, 197.

Shāh Jahān, 45 *n* 5, 408 *n* 4, 520 *n* 3.

Shāhjahānpūr, 56 *n* 4.

Shāh Mīr, Amīr, 512 *n* 1.

Shāh Mīr, Sayyid, 162, **174**, 175, 176.

Shāh Muḥammad Unsī, Maulānā, 524, 536 *n* 3.

Shāhnāma, 469 *n* 3.

Shāh Qulī, Kurd, 293, 294.

Shāh Qulī, Sulṭān, of Badakhshān, 441.

Shāhrukh, Mīrzā, 65, 450 *n* 4.

Shaikhu-’l-Hidyah, 28, 29, **45**, 46, 47.

Shakhṣ-i-Wāḥid, 283 *n* 4.

Shakībī, of Iṣfahān, 351, 508 *n* 1.

Shamā’ilu-’l-Muḥammadiyyah, see *Shamā’ilu-’n-Nabī*.

Shamā’ilu-’n-Nabī, 268.

Shāmlū Turkmāns, 262.

Shamsābād, 145.

Shamsu-’d-dīn, see Ḥakīmu ’l-Mulk.

Shamsu-’d-dīn, Khāja, of Khavāf, 231.

Shamsu-’d dīn, Qāẓī, Qazoīnī, 295.

Shamsud-’d-dīn, Shaikh Ṭabrīzī, 84 *n* 3.

Shamsu-’d dīn Muḥammad, see Ataga Khān.

Sharafu-’d-dīn, Abū ‘Abdi-’llāh *b.* Sa‘īd, 4 *n* 1.

Sharafu-’d-dīn Ḥasan, 230.

Sharḥ-i-‘Aqā’id, 217.

Sharḥ-i-Shamsiyyah, 209, 370.

Sharḥ-i-Vikāya, 132, 211.

Sharḥu-’l-Mukammal, 49 *n* 1.

Sharḥu shamā’ili-’n-Nabī, 114.

Sharīf Āmalī, 340, 513 *n* 1.

Sharīf-i-Amānī, Mīr, of Iṣfahān, 258, 259.

Sharīf of Ṭabrīz, 303.

Sharīfī, see Murtaẓā, Mīr.

Shāṭibī, the, 119.

Shāṭibī, Abū Muḥammadi-’l Qāsimī, 41 *n* 5, 42.

Shaṭṭārī order, 7.

Sher Khān, 314 *n* 1.

Sher Shāh, see Shīr Shāh.

Shiblī, Abū Bakr, Shaikh, 37.

Shihāb Khān, 498 *n* 1.

Shihābu-’d-dīn, Qāẓī, 135.

Shihābu-’d-dīn, Shaikh, Sahravardī, 225.

Shihābu-’d-dīn Aḥmad Khān, 512.

Shīmāl Khān, 420 *n* 2.

Shīr Shāh Sūr, Farīdu-’d-dīn, 89 *n* 2, 161 *nn* 2, 5, 178 *n* 1, 467 *n* 5.

Shīrāz, 184, 196, 216, 229, 230, 277, 390, 392, 403, 436, 442, 443, 523.

Shīrgaṛh, 50, 52, 56, 60, 61, 62

Shīrī, **345**, 346, 347, 350, 351.

Shīrīn, 348, 359 *n* 1.

Shīrvān, 217, 218.

Shujā‘ī, see Saifu-’l-Mulūk.

Shu‘ūrī, **353**, 354.

Shūshtar, 285.

Sidhaulī, 10 *n* 2.

Sijdah, 193, 374.

Sijistān, 76 *n* 2.

Sikandar Lodī, Sulṭān, 103.

Sikandar Sūr, 470.

Sikandara, 105, 108.

Sikandar nāma, 411 *n* 1, 498 *n* 1.

Sīkrī, see Fatḥpūr.

Silsilatu-'dh-Dhahab, by Jāmī, 376.

Sind, 89 *n* 2, 172, 409 *n* 1, 499.

Singhāsan Batīsī, 249.

Sipāhī, **340**.

Sipihrī, Mīrzā Beg, **334**, 335.

Ṣirāṭ, aṣ-, 534.

Sirhind, 6 *n* 3, 47 *n* 4, 73, 74, 75, 83 *n* 1, 91 *n* 3, 173 *n* 1, 174 *n* 1, 176, 177, 237, 465.

Sīstān, 342 *n* 2.

Sītāpūr, 10 *n* 2, 28 *n* 2.

Siwālik, 254 *n* 2.

Siyālkot, 219.

Sohna (Ladh), 163.

Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, 73 *n* 2.

Ṣūfī, Shaikh, 28.

Ṣūfīs, 3 *n* 3, 14, 20 *n* 3, 36, 37, 42, 69, 78, 85, 133, 166, 177, 243, 297, 298.

Ṣūfī Mysticism, 11 *n* 3, 13 *n* 1, 27, 69, 75 *n* 9, 81 *n* 1, 91 *n* 7, 93, 95, 103, 167, 168, 180, 243, 258, 287, 338, 340, 385, 390, 421, 437, 472.

Sulaimān (Solomon), 349, 416.

Sulaimān Mīrzā, of Badakhshān, 214 *n* 1, 344 *n* 1.

Sulaimān u Bilqīs, 411 *n* 1, 425 *n* 5.

Sulṭān, Khān-i-Zamān, **331**, 332, 333. See also Khān-i-Zamān.

Sulṭān, of Saplak, **327**, 328, 329, 330, 331, 333 *n* 3.

Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā, of Khurāsān, 295, 298 *n* 1, 387.

Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, 454 *n* 1.

Sulṭān Salīma Begum, 494 *n* 3.

Sulṭānpūr, 52, 172.

Sūrat, 383, 468.

Sūz u Gudāz, 495 *n* 3.

Swāt, see Sawād.

Syria, 20.

T.

Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, 1. 73 *n* 6, 133 *n* 1, 138 *n* 1, 143 *n* 2, 165 *n* 3, 218 *n* 5, 231 *n* 3, 234 *n* 1, 238 *n* 2, 240 *nn* 1, 3, 242 *n* 3, 248 *n* 2, 251 *n* 1, 253 *n* 3, 255 *n* 1, 259 *n* 2, 262 *n* 2, 263 *n* 4, 273 *nn* 1, 2, 285 *n* 3, 286 *n* 1, 293 *n* 2, 297 *n* 3, 298 *n* 3, 299 *n* 3, 302 *n* 1, 304 *n* 1, 306, 307, 310 *n* 2, 315 *n* 1, 316 *n* 2, 317 *n* 3, 319 *n* 4, 322 *n* 1, 324 *n* 1, 325 *n* 2, 327 *n* 2, 334 *nn* 1, 3, 340 *n* 2, 342 *n* 1, 351 *n* 2, 354 *n* 4, 356 *n* 2, 359 *n* 2, 361 *nn* 1, 2, 362 *n* 1, 365 *n* 1, 368 *n* 1, 370 *n* 1, 372 *n* 2, 373 *n* 3, 378 *n* 1, 380 *n* 1, 381 *n* 1, 383 *n* 2, 390 *n* 1, 392 *n* 1, 398 *n* 1. 401 *n* 3, 403 *nn* 1, 2, 405 *nn* 1, 2, 406 *n* 1, 408, 411 *n* 1, 435 *n* 2, 436 *n* 1, 437 *nn* 1, 2. 438 *n* 1, 439 *nn* 1, 4, 442 *n* 1, 444 *n* 2, 447 *n* 2, 451 *nn* 1, 5, 475 *n* 2, 480 *n* 1, 495 *n* 1, 496 *n* 2, 498 *n* 1, 508 *n* 1, 511 *n* 1, 517 *n* 1, 522 *n* 1, 535 *n* 2.

Tabarrā, 438 *n* 3.

Ṭabāṭabā, Ismā‘īl *b.* Ibrāhīm, 451 *n* 2.

Ṭabāṭabā'ī Sayyids, 260 *n* 2, 322 *n* 1, 451.

Tabrīz, 291 *n* 4, 302, 303, 408 *n* 4, 511, 523.

Tafsīr i-Kabīr, 119, 360.

Ṭahmāsp Shāh, 148, 149, 190, 237,

239 *n* 2, 299 *n* 3, 318 *n* 2, 335, 454 *n* 1, 463 *n* 3, 512 *n* 1.
Taḥqīq fī uṣūli-'l-fiqh, 92.
T̤aifūriyyah order, 7 *n* 1.
Tāju-'d-dīn, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, of Lakhnau, **43**.
Takaroī, battle of, 336 *n* 4.
Tālakān, 19 *n* 2.
T̤alamba, 3, 54, 60, 61 *n* 4
T̤alḥah, 115.
T̤ālib, Mullā, of Iṣfahān, **367**.
T̤āli'ī, of Yazd, **368**, 369.
Talikota, battle of, 330 *n* 1.
Tanka, 9, 28.
T̤ant̤arānī, 297 *n* 1.
Taqī Muḥammad, see Taqī'u-'d-dīnī, of S̲h̲ūs̲h̲tar.
Taqī'u-'d-dīnī, of S̲h̲ūs̲h̲tar, **285**, 286.
Taqīya, Mullā, see Taqī'u-'d-dīnī, of S̲h̲ūs̲h̲tar.
Taqiyyah, 336 *n* 5.
T̤āramī, Mullā 'Alī, the *Muḥaddis̲*, **363**, 364.
Tardī Beg, 310.
Tardī, Rūda, **278**.
Tārīk̲h̲-i-Alfī, 530 *n* 2.
Tārīk̲h̲ i Ma'ṣūmī, 121 *n* 3.
Tārīk̲h̲-i-Niẓāmī, see *T̤abaqāt-i-Akbarī*.
Tārīk̲h̲-i-Sind, 498 *n* 1.
T̤arīqī, of Sāwa, 337, **365**.
Tark̲h̲ān, title of, 218 *n* 5, 273, 274. 275.
Tars̲h̲īz, 372 *n* 2.
Taṣawwuf, 11 *n* 3, see Ṣūfī mysticism.
Tas̲h̲bīhī, of Kās̲h̲ān, **283**, 284, 285.
Tās̲h̲kand, 213.
Taslīm, 374 *n* 5.
Tātār K̲h̲ān, 165, 276.
Tatta, see Thatha.
Tausanī, Manohar, **278**, 279.
T̤awāf, 19 *n* 4, 523 *n* 2.
T̤awā'is, see T̤awāwīs.
T̤awā'isī, Qāẓī, **125**.
T̤awāwīs, 125 and *n* 2.
Taz̲arvī, of Abhar, **279**, 280, 283.
Taz̲kirah, the, of Taqī, 498 *n* 1.
Taz̲kiratu-'sh S̲h̲u'arā, the, of Mīr 'Alā'u-d-Daulah, 239, 437, 446, 467, 477.
Thānesar, 5, 83, 114, 173, 187.
Thatha, 193, 235, 409, 497, 498.
Tibat, 99.
T̤iflī, **370**, 372.
Tigris, the, 192 *n* 1.
T̤ihrān, 226 *n* 5, 255 *n* 1, 338 *n* 3, 405.
Timma, 330 *n* 1.
Tīmūr, Amīr, *Ṣāḥib-Qirān*, 6 *n* 4, 242 *n* 3, 278 *n* 1, 295 *n* 4, 307 *n* 2, 387 *n* 5, 432, 433, 490, 491.
Tīmurides, 278.
Tirmiz̲, 498 *n* 1.
Tirmiz̲ī Sayyids, 498 *n* 1.
Tītāl, 295.
Toda, 483 *n* 2.
Transoxiana, 45 *n* 2, 122, 210, 213, 214, 218, 251, 355, 437, 453, 480, 497.
Tuḥfatu-'l-Aḥrār, 226.
Tukrīyā, see Ḥusain K̲h̲an.
Tūrān, 199.
Turbat, 475.
Turbat-i Ḥaidarī, 353.
Turbat-i-S̲h̲aik̲h̲ Jām, 353.
Turkey, 191, 214, 280.
T̤ūs, 29 *n* 2, 251, 358 *n* 2.
T̤ūt̤īnāma, 249 *n* 2.
T̤uwal, 374.
Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī, 3 *n*. 5, 18 *n*. 5, 237 *nn* 2, 4, 5, 263 *n* 4, 299 *n* 3, 337 *n* 2, 508 *n* 1.

U.

‘Ubaidī, **383**, 384.
Ucch, 48, 157.
Udaipūr, 420 *n* 1.
‘Uḥud, 116.
Ujjain. 510, 512 *n* 2.
Ulfatī, see Qilīj K͟hān.
Ulfatī, of ‘Irāq, **265**.
Ulfatī, of Yazd, **264**, 265.
Ulug͟h Mīrzā, *alias* Sikandar, 6 *n* 4, 60 *n* 5, 75, 278.
Ulug͟h Baig Mīrzā, 60.
Umanā sect, see Basāk͟hwānī sect.
‘Umar, the K͟halīfah, 25 *n* 3, 39 *n* 4, 88, 117 *n* 2, 195 *n* 1, 438 *n* 3.
‘Umar, S͟haik͟h, 157.
‘Umar S͟haik͟h, Mīrzā, 6 *n* 4, 60 *n* 5, 387 *n* 5, 491 *n* 6.
Umar K͟hayyām, 406, 529 *n* 1.
Ummidī, **336**, 337.
Unāo, 190 *n* 2.
Undotted Commentary, the, see *Sawāṭi‘u-’l-Ilhām*.
Ur of the Chaldees, 433 *n* 4.
‘Urfī, Sayyidī Muḥammad Jamālu-’d-dīn, of S͟hīrāz, **392**, 393, 394, 395.
Uṛīsa, 336 *n* 4, 340 *n* 5.
Ūs͟h, 45.
‘Us̤mān, the *K͟halīfah*, 39 *n* 4, 117 *n* 2, 195 *n* 1, 438 *n* 3.
‘Us̤mān, Maulānā, of Bangāl, 188.
‘Us̤mān, Maulānā, of Sāmāna, 173.
‘Ut͟hmān, see ‘Us̤mān.
Uzbaks, 439 *n* 4.
‘Uzzā, 347.

V.

Vafā’ī, of Iṣfahān, **520**.
Vāfī, **525**.
Vais, Maulānā, of Gwāliyār, **189**, 190, 191.
Vajd, 9 *n* 2.
Vajīhu-’d-dīn, Miyān, or S͟haik͟h, of Aḥmadābād, 8, **72**, 73, 176.
Vāmiq, 287.
Vāqi‘ī, Ibn ‘Alī, of Hirāt, **517**.
Vaṣfī, Mīr ‘Abdu-’llāh, 246, **518**.
Vaṣlī, **519**.
Venkatādrī, 330 *n* 1.
Verkopāī, 318 *n* 2.
Vidā’ī, of Hirāt, **516**.
Vidarbha, 422 *n* 1.
Vijayanagar, 330.
Vikramāditya, 249 *n* 2.
Vuqūfī, Wā‘iẓ Mīr, of Hirāt, **519**.
Vuqū‘ī, Muḥammad S͟harīf, of Nīs͟hāpūr, **512**, 513, 516.

W.

Wāḥidiyyah sect, see Basāk͟hwānī sect.
Waḥs͟hī, 474 *n* 1.
Wā‘iẓ, Mīr, see Vuqūfī.
Wajīhu-’d-dīn, S͟haik͟h, see Vajīhu-’d-dīn.
Whinfield, *Guls͟han-i-Rāz*, 84 *n* 3.

Y.

Yādgār, see Ḥālatī.
Yaḥyā, K̲h̲āja, 439 *n* 4.
Yaḥyā, Maulānā, 345.
Yaḥyā, Mīr, 148, 149.
Yaḥyā, Qāẓī, of Qazvīn, 463, 464.
Ya‘qūb, Qāẓī, 124, 125, **126**.
Ya‘qūb, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, of Kas̲h̲mīr, 20, **200**, 201, 202, 203, 205, 206, 207, 208; see also Ṣarfī.
Ya‘qūb K̲h̲ān, of Kas̲h̲mīr, 450.
Yāsīn, Sayyid, **176**, 177.
Yazd, 126 *n* 5, 237, 264, 315 *n* 1, 368, 408.
Yazīd, 120.
Yol Qulī, see Anīsī.
Yūsuf (Joseph), 206, 208, 244, 347 *n* 6, 468.
Yūsuf, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, 89.
Yūsuf K̲h̲ān, or S̲h̲āh, of Kas̲h̲mīr, 450.
Yūsuf K̲h̲ān, Mīrzā, 265, 495 *n* 3.
Yūsuf Muḥammad K̲h̲ān, son of Ataga K̲h̲ān, 280, 310.
Yūsuf-u Zulaik̲h̲ā, 448, 498 *n* 1, 500.
Yūsufzāīs, 233 *n* 1, 327 *n* 2, 351.

Z.

Zābulistān, 233 *n* 1, 327 *n* 2.
Zāhid, Ḥijāz K̲h̲ān, 386.
Zaidī sect, 232.
Zain K̲h̲ān, Kūka, 233 *n* 1, **327**, 367 *n* 2, 520.
Zainu-'d-dīn, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, of Jabal-i-‘Āmilī, 191.
Zainu-'d-dīn, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, of K̲h̲avāf, 324.
Zainu-'d-dīn Maḥmūd, Maulānā, 212.
Zamzam, 168.
Zanbīl, Ḥakīm, 228.
Zanjabīl, 182.
Z̲auq, 11 *n* 5, 12 *n* 5.
Zību-'n-Nisā, daughter of Aurangzīb, 494 *n* 3.
Zibrīqī, Ḥakīm, 135.
Z̲ikr, 15 *n* 1, 27.
Z̲ikr-i-arra, 211.
Ẓiyā'u-'llāh, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182.
Ẓuhūr, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, 6.
Ẓuhūrī, Mullā Nūru'-d-dīn, of Tars̲h̲īz, **372**, 373.
Zulaik̲h̲ā, 244, 347, 416.
Z̲ū-'l fiqār, 504.

ERRATA.

P. 19, note 1, l. 20. For ‘Faris̲h̲tu’ read ‘Firis̲h̲ta.’

P. 43, note 4, l. 3. For ‘Panipat’ read ‘Pānīpat.’

P. 45, note 2, l. 3. For ‘Iyaltamis̲h̲’ read ‘Īltutmis̲h̲.’

Do. do. l. 5. For ‘Faris̲h̲ta’ read ‘Firis̲h̲ta.’

P. 82, l. 9. For ‘Rīẓwān’ read ‘Riẓwān.’

P. 86, l. 3. After ‘year’ insert ‘H.’

P. 94, l. 4. *Dele* ‘and.’

P. 109, note 3, l. 1. For ‘‘*utūm*’ read ‘‘*ulūm*.’

P. 115, l. 16. Between ‘work’ and ‘Mīr’ insert ‘of.’

Do. l. 26. For ‘My’ read ‘Thy.’

P. 125, note 2, l. 1. For ‘Ṯāwawīs’ read ‘Ṯawāwīs.’

P. 130, ll. 1, 26.
P. 131, ll. 12, 21, and *n*. 4, l. 6. } For ‘‘Abdu-u-nabī’ read ‘‘Abdu-n-nabī.’

P. 139, note 3. For ‘test’ read ‘text.’

P. 147, note 1, l. 3. For ‘Steps to prophethood’ read ‘Degrees in prophet-hood.’

P. 169, note 3. For مَتْقَابِلِين read مُتَقَابِلِين.

P. 173, note 1, l. 1. For ‘Dilhī’ read ‘Dihlī.

P. 178, note 1, l. 4. For ‘S̲h̲āh’ read ‘K̲h̲ān.’

P. 198, l. 19. For ‘*qaṣīdāh*’ read ‘*qaṣīdah*.’

P. 210, note 6, l. 4 (on p. 211). For ‘approbrious’ read ‘opprobrious.’

P. 216, note 2, l. 2. For ‘Bījāpōr’ read ‘Bījāpūr.’

P. 217, l. 2. For ‘Rākū’ read ‘Kākū.’

P. 239, l. 4. For ‘*Taẕkirāh*’ read ‘*Taẕkirah*.’

P. 240, note 3, l. 2. For ‘Badoānī’ read ‘Badāonī.’

P. 241, l. 16. For ‘*Ka‘bāh*’ read ‘*Ka‘bah*.’

P. 246, last line. For ‘*Ṣubūḥī*’ read ‘Ṣabūḥī.’

P. 249, note 1, l. 1. For ‘sleeps’ read ‘sleep.’

P. 262, note 1, l. 4. For ‘S̲h̲āmlā’ read ‘S̲h̲āmlū.

P. 283, note 4, l. 6. For ‘Taimūr’ read ‘Tīmūr.’

P. 300, l. 14. For ‘lives’ read ‘lines.’

P. 318, note 2, l. 14. For ‘*tak̲h̲aluṣ*’ read ‘*tak̲h̲alluṣ*.’

P. 329, note 1, l. 8. For ‘*bīg̲h̲as*’ read ‘*bīghas*.’

P. 348, note 2, ll. 1 and 2. For ‘conservation’ read ‘conversation.’

P. 362, l. 14. For ‘‘*Aqil*’ read ‘*Āqil*.’

P. 376. For note 3 substitute ‘The poem by Jāmī.’

P. 405, note 3. For ‘magians’ read ‘Magians.’

P. 408, l. 24. For ‘Fusīnī’ read ‘Fusūnī.’

P. 425, note 5, l. 1. For ‘Salaimān’ read ‘Sulaimān.’

P. 436, l. 1. For ‘Sh̲īrār’ read ‘Sh̲īrāz.’

P. 473, l. 17. For ‘Majnīms’ read ‘Majnūns.’

Do. note 1, l. 9. For ‘*Ṣafāviyya*’ read ‘*Ṣafaviyya.*’

P. 493, l. 19. For ‘Naṣiḥī’ read ‘Naṣīḥī.’

Do. note 2. Insert “397” after ‘p.’ and *dele* “note.”

P. 495, note 3, l. 2 (on p. 496). For ‘Sāqīrāma’ read ‘*Sāqīnāma*’

P. 530, l. 19. For ‘Muslinis’ read ‘Muslims.’

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